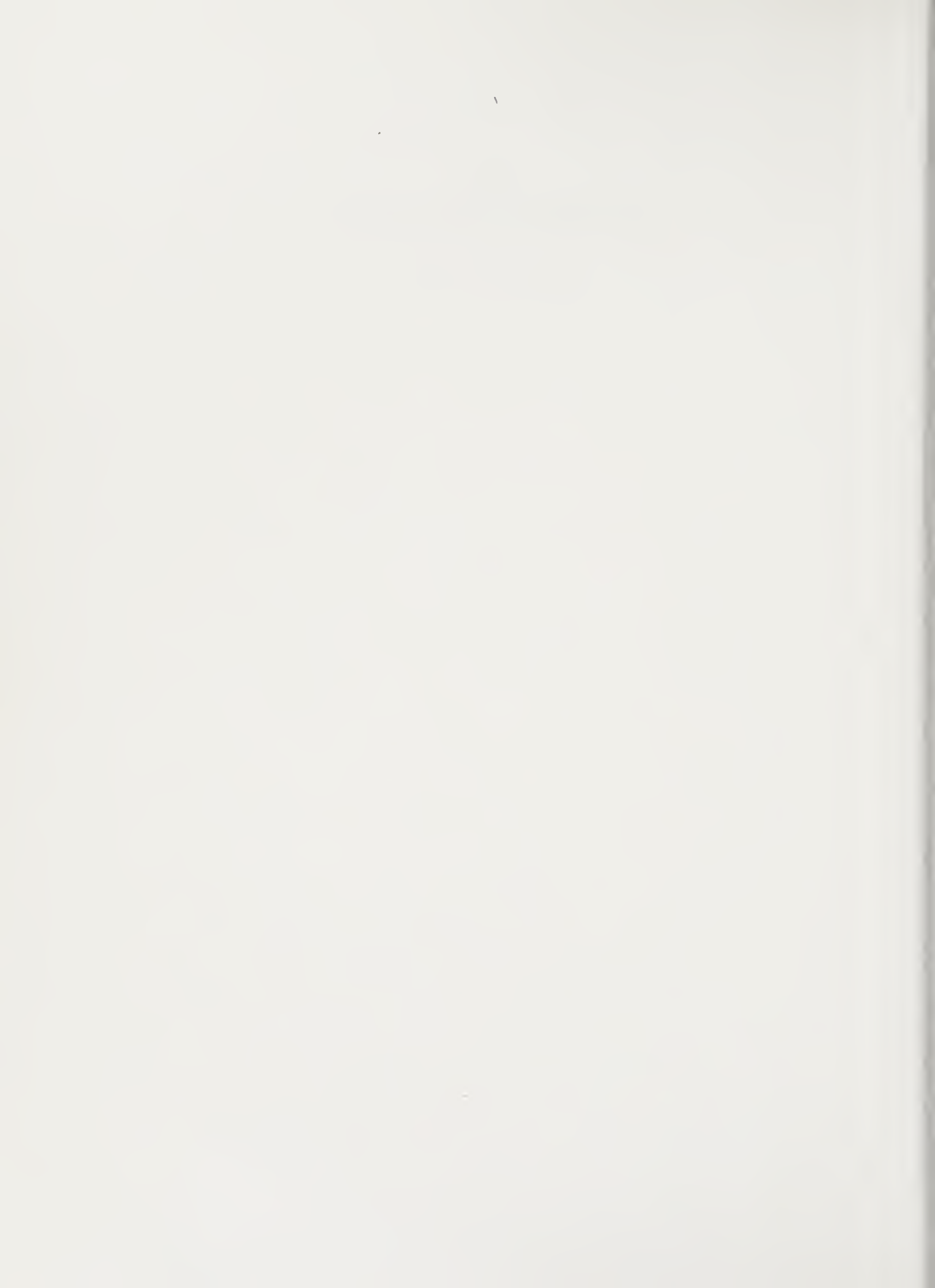


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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXVI



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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LXXVI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

D. COLOMO AND J. CHAPA

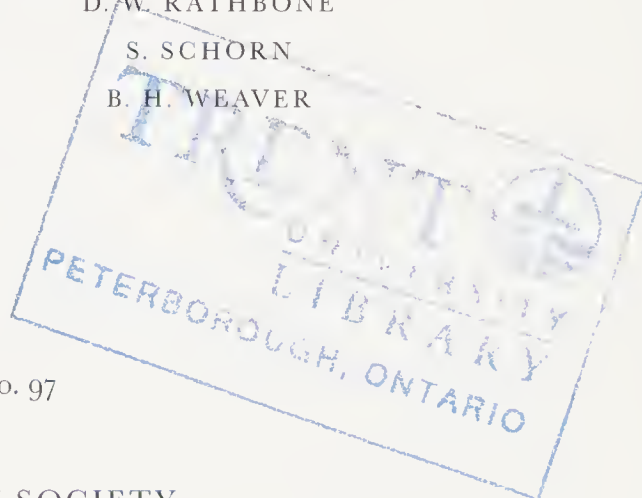
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Græco-Roman Memoirs, No. 97

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
WITH THE SUPPORT OF
THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH COUNCIL
AND
THE BRITISH ACADEMY

2011



TYPESET BY
THE STINGRAY OFFICE, MANCHESTER
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
CHARLESWORTH PRESS, WAKEFIELD
AND PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
(REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 212384)
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

Graeco-Roman Memoirs

ISSN 0306-9222

ISBN 978 0 85698 203 3

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PREFACE

This volume publishes the texts presented at the colloquium 'New Greek Texts from Oxyrhynchus' and related finds. This daytime workshop for 17 scholars from around the world, followed by a packed evening public discussion, took place in June 2009, convened by Professor Eric Handley (FBA) and Dirk Obbink. The workshop allowed the scholars to examine some of these texts, and then to present them to a wider audience in the evening, considering questions of the language, content, and reconstruction of the texts ('Did Euripides write two versions of his play *Medea*?'), and how modern methods of imaging work to recover unknown classical texts. A display of papyri, photographs, and other relevant material was also on view (see *British Academy Review* 14 (Nov. 2009) 28–31).

Included are new texts of Greek drama: one (5075) a dialogue in lyric metre (probably from a tragedy); the other (5076) a play of Old Comedy that contrasted a never-never land of good government and prosperous market-places with political denunciations of financial mismanagement. 5077 heralds a widely circulating collection of letters (known in antiquity to Cicero, Seneca, and the Herculaneum Library) by the Athenian philosopher Epicurus, with instructions for the circulation of his own writings.

Another is a previously unknown gospel (5072)—or at any rate one offering new sayings of Jesus, together with the story of the casting out of demons at Gadara by Jesus, but omitting the curious but essential element of the swine; there is also a jumbo amulet bearing the opening of the Gospel of Mark (5073). 5074 offers a presentation-grade copy of Cyril of Alexandria's *Festal Letters* that truncates the text. A series of Platonic dialogues (5078–5092) constitute the remains of the first part of the Thrasyllan tetralogic division identified so far in the Oxyrhynchus collection. Included are a series of calligraphic copies of *Meno* and *Politicus* penned by scribes notable for having copied other works of classical literature at Oxyrhynchus (5088–5090). In 5093 a rhetorician of the imperial period similarly showcases his knowledge of classical literature and tragic poetics, declaiming on Medea's killing of her children. 5094 charts a discussion of Greek mythology under the pedigree of Apollodorus of Athens, citing (among other works) the lost epics *Cypria* and *Naupactia*. 5095 shows the emergence of the authoritative mediæval commentary on the *Iliad*, still travelling in a self-standing codex volume.

The working party at the British Academy considered a group of important public documents, among them two that collect prefectural rulings or edicts (5096, 5097). The former harks back to Ptolemaic rule and attests the early formation of collections of Roman legal proclamations; on its back, an advocate appears to prepare his brief, perhaps for delivery at court (5098). Two private letters detail respectively the affairs of a sister's ill-health (5099), and instructions for transmission of a letter to Theon a *strategos*, through the intermediary of an 'Ethiopian' slave as messenger (5100).

We are grateful to Dr James Brusuelas, who compiled the indexes with customary industry, and to Drs Daniela Colomo and W. Benjamin Henry for editorial acumen in the checking and verification of texts and the proofs. Dr Jeffrey Dean provided copy-editing, typesetting, and invaluable advice regarding production, while the Charlesworth Group printed the volume to exacting specifications notwithstanding delays. As a result of the long-standing support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy, the papyri from Oxyrhynchus are made available to an ever-widening audience.

August 2011

D. OBBINK

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JB = J. Barton

AKB = A. K. Bowman

HE = H. Essler

AK = A. Koenig

DO = D. Obbink

OR = O Ranner

AS = A. Schatzman

ST = S. Trepanier

AB = A. Benaissa

JC = J. Chapa

EWH = E. W. Handley

MK = M. Konstantinidou

MCDP = M. C. D. Paganini

DWR = D. W. Rathbone

SS = S. Schorn

BHW = B. H. Weaver

AEB = A. E. Bernhard

DC = D. Colomo

WBH = W. B. Henry

FM = F. Montanari

MP = M. Perale

MS = M. Salemenou

GSS = G. S. Smith

GX = G. Xenis

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ἄρ, στρ(ατηγός) represents the abbreviation στρς
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
᾿αβγ	The letters are added above the line
⟨αβγ⟩	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, ⁵2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

5072. UNGANONICAL GOSPEL?

29 4B.48/F(1-4)d

7 × 7 cm End of second / beginning of third century
Plate II

Fragment of a papyrus codex containing part of a non-canonical narrative of the casting out of a demon by Jesus (→) and some apparently miscellaneous sayings addressed by Jesus to unspecified persons (↓). It has become conventional to label and treat most such fragments (e.g. Van Haelst 585-91, 1147, 1151, P. Stras. Cop. 5 and 6, P. Berol. 22220) as 'unknown' or 'uncanonical' gospels, although it can be difficult to tell what is a gospel (cf. the observations by Th. J. Kraus in the introduction to Th. J. Kraus, M. J. Kruger, T. Nicklas, *Gospel Fragments* (2009) 1-6). **5072** can be regarded as an 'unknown' or 'non-canonical' gospel to the extent that it presents similarities with Synoptic narratives and sayings (and not because it is part of any otherwise known non-canonical gospel). It might have been an abridged version, combining more than one gospel, or an account of gospel stories and sayings recounted from memory.

The hand is a small semi-cursive, upright, with many ligatures, not particularly elegant; it is noticeably rougher across the fibres. The size of the letters is not regular: o and, most of the time, e and c are small, but the rest of the letters can be found in various sizes. There is no decoration and no contrast between thin and thick strokes. Space between letters is usually regular. The script is bilinear on the whole, except for φ and ρ, less prominently ζ, and sometimes ι and γ, but the base line is not kept regularly even. τ and ε are always ligatured. ε is sometimes written in two strokes as a semicircle with the horizontal stroke in the middle, extending to the following letter; on other occasions it is written cursively, as a lunate sigma with the horizontal dropping from the upper end and ligatured to the next letter. θ, τ, π, and c are usually linked to the following letter; o is floating, and occasionally triangular in shape; flat ω is cursively written and hangs from the previous letter. τ and ρ sometimes have a right-curving serif at the bottom of the vertical; a less prominent serif is also visible at the bottom of ι, γ, and the right vertical of π. The vertical of ρ often begins almost from the bottom centre of the loop. μ is cursively written with a low saddle in the middle and ζ with a rather long horizontal end. κ is wide, with the arms extending from the middle of the vertical, although the descending arm occasionally starts from the ascending one. η is written in three strokes, with the oblique prolonged upwards and the final vertical overlying it. β is narrow, with the descending stroke crossing the vertical in the shape of an S. In ↓4 the left vertical of η curves, as a result of the ligature with the previous letter. γ

is written with a more or less vertical upright touching the left arm at a fairly high point; sometimes it is written in one stroke. Δ is written with the first stroke at a 45° angle. z and, probably, ψ are not attested.

The hand shows some features (η , κ , π , hanging ω , sometimes Υ) that could suggest a relatively early date in the second century. However, the Υ in one movement and cursive ligatured ϵ are better paralleled in documentary texts of the late second century and the beginning of the third century such as LX **4068** (March–April AD 200) or P. Flor. II 278 (*Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico*, tav. cxix) (AD 203–4; see also L **3536**, dated by the editors to the third century). **5072** can be placed between V **842** Hellenica Oxyrhynchia (second half of the second century) (Roberts, *GLH* 17b) and P. Ryl. III 463, Gospel of Mary (middle of the third century) (Roberts 20c). A date in the late second century / beginning of the third century thus seems probable for **5072**.

$\overline{\upsilon\epsilon}$ for $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon$ occurs in $\rightarrow 3$. The *nomen sacrum* for $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ is first attested at the end of the second century / beginning of the third century (P. Bodmer II = \mathfrak{P}^{66}). At the start of $\rightarrow 9$, a horizontal bar over sigma suggests another *nomen sacrum*, perhaps $\overline{\tau\tau}$, less likely $\overline{\kappa\tau}$ (for κ would have probably left some traces). Another bar is also visible after $\overline{\upsilon\epsilon}$ in $\rightarrow 3$ (see 3 n.). $\overline{\Upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha}$ ($\downarrow 8$) occurs in full, following the usual practice of only contracting $\overline{\Upsilon\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu}$ and never $\overline{\Upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha}$ (A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina sacra* (1959) 106).

$\overline{\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha}$ in $\downarrow 9$ is abbreviated ($\overline{\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha}$). This word is not listed among *nomina sacra* in modern repertoria (cf. K. Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, i 420–26) and is very rarely contracted: $\overline{\beta\varsigma}$ (for $\overline{\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma}$) occurs in XVII **2068**, perhaps a liturgical fragment dated to the fourth century, and $\overline{\beta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\beta\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon\upsilon}$ at John 1:51 and 3:3 in the added portion of the Freer Gospels (W) (seventh or eighth century); cf. $\overline{\beta\alpha\varsigma\lambda\varsigma}$ in a Greek-Coptic bilingual gospel of the sixth century (Aland 070; Paap 114). However, it is interesting that, besides the familiar compendia, in P. Egerton 2, an early unknown gospel from the second century which shares with our papyrus some other similarities (see below), we find $\overline{\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon[\varsigma\iota\upsilon]}$ for $\overline{\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\iota\upsilon}$, together with $\overline{\mu\omega}$ (= $\overline{M\omega\upsilon\varsigma\eta\varsigma}$), $\overline{\eta[\tau\alpha\varsigma]}$ (= $\overline{H\epsilon\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma}$), $\overline{\pi\rho\omicron\phi\alpha\varsigma}$ (= $\overline{\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma}$) and $\overline{\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon}$ (= $\overline{\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon}$). Note that $\overline{\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha}$ (**5072**) and $\overline{\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon[\varsigma\iota\upsilon]}$ (P. Egerton 2) follow the same pattern of abbreviating the word (through the omission of the second syllable), which differs from the later examples quoted above. This could point to a common period and may also favour a date for **5072** in the second century.

$\overline{\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha}$ is written with diaeresis ($\downarrow 8$). Diaereses are visible over initial υ and ι in $\downarrow 5$, 6, and 10, the last being inorganic. This sign is not common before the second century AD: Z. Aly, L. Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint* (1980) 7; Turner, *GMAW*² 10 n. 46.

A small oblique stroke above the line must have been used as punctuation in $\rightarrow 7$, $\downarrow 4$, 5, 7; the ink of these strokes seems different (at least in $\rightarrow 7$, $\downarrow 4$, 7), which suggests that they have been added later by the scribe or by another hand (see

Turner, *GMAW*² 9–10). In ↓4, 5, 7 there seems to be also some space between letters, but, given that the writer is rather clumsy, it is difficult to tell whether here or elsewhere (e.g. →3) spacing is intended or accidental.

There are no orthographic mistakes. The use of movable nu is correct (see *κατέρρησεν* in →2 and *ἐπετίμησεν* in →5, and *ἀνέκραξε* in →3), and iota adscript is written where required in →5.

The loss of margins makes it impossible to determine the size of the page and the amount of text that is missing at the ends and beginnings of lines. Assuming that the restoration suggested in →5–6 n. and in ↓5–7 n. is correct, we would expect an average of *c.*33–4 letters to the line: this would give a written area width of *c.*12 cm, if the papyrus kept regular margins. Obviously, this should be taken cautiously because it depends on a hypothetical restoration. Line divisions, of course, remain uncertain. Codices with similar written widths show written heights of anything between 15 and 25 cm (cf. Turner, *Typology* 20–22), i.e. 24 and 40 lines in this script. Thus, at best **5072** represents only half a page of a codex.

It is clear that in → the text recounts an episode of the driving out of a demon or unclean spirit. This is proved by the presence of the verb *ἐπετίμησεν* (5) in close context with the command *ἔξ]ελθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (6), and the expressions *ἦλ]θες πρὸ καιροῦ* (4) and *ἀνέκραξε λέγων ὑέ* (3), which are characteristic of Synoptic accounts of healing demoniacs. Although the name of the one who performs the miracle is not clearly attested in **5072**, it is almost certain that it must be Jesus (additionally, we should probably read *ἰ]ῆ* in →9).

The narrative is mostly reported using words that Matthew and Luke employ in their accounts, but with no exact parallelism and showing no clear dependence upon either, which makes it difficult to restore the text. Some of the expressions are also found in Mark, but not exclusively (except perhaps on one occasion: →3). Words such as *ἐκάθισεν* (7) and *ενδυ* [(10), are reminiscent of the narratives of the healing of the demoniac(s) of Gadara/Gerasa (and Gergesa) according to the versions of Matthew (8:28–34) and Luke (8:26–39). (The name Gadara will be used in reference to Matthew's account and Gerasa in reference to Mark's and Luke's, following the Nestle–Aland text.) The connection with this episode gains support from the expression *πρὸ καιροῦ* (4), which only occurs twice in the New Testament, one of them precisely in Matthew's account of the exorcism at Gadara (8:29). However, the narrative of **5072** lacks an essential element of the miracle, the expulsion and drowning of the swine in the lake, for, if the restored text in lines 5–6 is correct, there is no room for this to be supplied in lines 6–7. Other expressions, such as *ἀνέκραξε λέγων* (3) and the partially restored *ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ λέ[γων* and *ἔξ]ελθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (5–6), are similar to those found in the episode at the lake, according to Matthew, but have even closer similarities to the description of the healing of a man with an unclean spirit at the synagogue of Capharnaum in the version of Luke: *καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε*

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (4:35 || Mark 1:25). Likewise, the verb ἐπετίμησεν and the reference to the exit of the demon are also found in the episode of the healing of the lunatic boy in the account of the Synoptics, according to Matthew and Mark: καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον (Matt. 17:18); ἐπετίμησεν . . . λέγων . . . ἐγὼ ἐπιτάσσω σοι, ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ (Mark 9:25); cf. also Luke 9:42.

This lack of a direct connection with any single Synoptic episode makes it difficult to ascertain what precedes and follows κατέρρησεν (2). This verb does not occur in the New Testament, although in the Gospel of Luke we find διαρρήσσω in the healing of the demoniac of Gerasa (8:29) and ῥήσσω in the healing of the lunatic boy (9:42); the verb ῥήσσω also occurs in the parallel passage in Mark (9:18). All things considered, it seems reasonable to conclude that in → we are dealing with a narrative that was inspired by accounts of exorcism recorded in the New Testament, and specifically by the three most developed episodes: the possessed man at the synagogue of Capharnaum, the demoniac(s) at the lake of Gennesaret, and the healing of the lunatic boy. (Of the three other miracles in the Synoptic gospels that tell of the healing of people possessed by an evil spirit, two are just brief accounts with no dialogue involved—Matt. 9:32–4 and 12:22 || Luke 11:14—and the third reports the driving out of the demon done from a distance, in response to the intercession of the mother of the possessed girl: Mark 7:24–30 || Matt. 15:21–8.) Thus, the text in **5072** appears to be a retelling or summary of the exorcisms which Jesus performed, as they are known to us through the Synoptic gospels. The supposition that the text of the papyrus contained an independent narrative, or even the original story upon which the Synoptic gospels elaborated some of their own accounts, would be difficult to prove. The similarities of language with the first three canonical gospels point to dependence upon the Synoptic story. The damaged state of the papyrus prevents us from knowing whether the aftermath of the exorcism is related to any particular passage in the Synoptics or tells a different story.

In ↓ the affinities of phraseology with the canonical gospels suggest that the papyrus contained a dialogue of Jesus with someone who wanted to follow him or was already a disciple, and sayings that Jesus addresses to various people. In these, the Master lays down some demands in relation to his person, perhaps in connection with the coming of the Kingdom (9). The change of addressees is implied by the presence of *ce* and *εση* in lines 3–4, and the use of *ὑμιν* in line 5, which vaguely evokes the end of the encounter of Jesus with the rich young man in Matt. 19:21–3, a passage in which there is also a change from second person singular to second person plural in close context. However, in the Gospel of Matthew this change only occurs after some transitional sentences, whereas in the papyrus these are absent and the shift of addressees is abrupt. This apparent lack of logical transition may suggest that the words of Jesus transmitted here were collected from various sayings on related subjects and gathered together out of their original context.

Obviously, it cannot be excluded that the papyrus refers to an encounter of Jesus with an individual in the presence of other people. The sayings probably ended in lines 11–12, where the narrator seems to resume his account, as $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (12) suggests.

At the beginning of the extant text in \downarrow , Jesus seems to ask somebody to confess him and recognize him, perhaps as teacher (see $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ in 3). This is suggested by $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}$ (2) and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (3), which are parallel to Matt. 10:32–3 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$, $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ [\tau\omicron\iota\acute{\varsigma}]\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$. $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \delta\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\eta\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\eta\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, and Luke 12:8–9 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \upsilon\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. $\acute{\omicron}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\eta\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\eta\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. The use of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ (3) brings the text of **5072** closer to the Gospel of Matthew, but note that the verb $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ occurs in Luke. Jesus' demands are underlined by expressing the shame that the person who fails to recognize him will experience ($\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\eta\ \alpha\iota\varsigma[\chi\upsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, 4), perhaps forever ($\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma[\chi\alpha\tau\alpha$, 5). The verb $\alpha\iota\varsigma\chi\upsilon\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ has its parallel in Luke 9:26, a saying of Jesus that states negatively, and also by means of a similar contrast, the idea expressed in the sayings previously mentioned: $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\chi\upsilon\nu\theta\acute{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \upsilon\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\chi\upsilon\nu\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. (The parallel saying in Mark 8:38 has $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\eta}\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\eta}\ \mu\omicron\iota\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{\omega}$ after $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.)

The text continues with another saying in which Jesus demands a complete detachment from earthly bonds in order to become a worthy disciple of his. This is implied by $\acute{\omicron}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ (5) together with $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\tau\iota\nu$ (6) and $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ (7), which are reminiscent of Matt. 10:37 $\acute{\omicron}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \eta\ \mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\tau\iota\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and Luke 14:26–27 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\ \mu\iota\varsigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ (cf. also John 12:25 $\acute{\omicron}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$).

The expression $\nu\alpha\iota\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ (5) occurs once in Matthew (11:9) but three times in Luke (7:26, 11:51, 12:5).

The rest of the lines are too damaged for any clear parallelism to the Synoptic gospels or any other known text to emerge. But the words $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\ \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\ \gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}$ (7) in close context with $\text{I}\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\ \varsigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}$ (8) point to an extracanonical saying of Jesus, unless the author of our papyrus rephrased in a completely new way some words later found transmitted in the canonical gospels. In \downarrow there are no exclusive parallels to the Gospel of Mark.

All in all, it seems that the language of **5072** is slightly closer to that of Luke than to that of any other canonical gospel, although its laconic way of recounting the story and formulating the words of Jesus has more in common with the way Matthew presents the narratives and transmits the sayings of Jesus than with that

of Luke and Mark. The papyrus also contains some expressions that are exclusive to Matthew. Additionally the sequence of the Synoptic parallels of **5072** may follow the order of the First Gospel (Matt. 8:28–34; 10:32–3, 37–8), which might suggest that → preceded ↓.

5072 is not related to other fragmentary non-canonical gospels preserved on papyrus (see the list at the beginning of the introd.), except perhaps to two that exhibit a similar mixture of new and familiar elements in relation to the narratives and sayings found in the Synoptics: the previously mentioned P. Egerton 2 (LDAB 4736) and X **1224** (LDAB 5727).

5072 and a section of P. Egerton 2 share the way of telling a story which also has a parallel account in the first three canonical gospels. P. Egerton 2, i→, 11–23 recounts the healing of a leper as referred to in Matt. 8:2–4, Mark 1:40–44, and Luke 5:12–14. However, in P. Egerton 2, apart from the words of Jesus and the leper, the story is conveyed differently and its language shows no special dependence upon any one of the Synoptics; besides, some features that are present in all three Synoptics (the leper did obeisance to Jesus; Jesus stretched out his hand and touched him; Jesus ordered him to tell no-one) are lacking in the papyrus. Something analogous can be said of the way in which **5072** →2–7 relates to its Synoptic parallels. The core of the narrative in **5072** is a healing of a man possessed by a demon in the language of the first three canonical gospels, but there is no clear influence of any particular Synoptic account. **5072** also lacks some of the elements recorded in the canonical gospels that are central for the story, such as the sending of the demon somewhere else or the departure of the demon amid the convulsions of the possessed man. Other similarities between the two papyri are the use of an uncommon abbreviation (↓9 and P. Egerton 2, ii→, 7; see above) and of the word *διδάσκαλος* to refer to Jesus (↓3 and P. Egerton 2, i→, 12; ii→, 4). Nonetheless, the comparison cannot be pressed too far: P. Egerton 2 is related to one single episode of healing, whereas **5072** might be related to three different ones; besides, P. Egerton 2 has strong affinities to the language and theology of the Gospel of John, which are not clearly attested in **5072** (although it is also true that P. Egerton 2 does not present Johannine elements in the account of the healing of the leper).

5072 also shows some similarities with X **1224**, especially at the level of the sayings (for a recent study on this text, see Th. J. Kraus, 'Other Gospel Fragments', in *Gospel Fragments* 264–80). X **1224**, a text that may come from an uncanonical gospel, is dated to the beginning of the fourth century. It preserves the remains of six mutilated columns in two fragments, which may have belonged either to a single-column codex or a double-column book. As in **5072**, the poor condition of the remains makes it difficult to reach a clear understanding of the passage. Fr. 2 → ii seems to describe an appearance in a vision of Jesus, who responds to a person's behaviour and addresses some words of exhortation to him or her; fr. 2 ↓ ii refers to the reaction of Jesus to the offence taken by scribes, Pharisees, and priests at seeing

him dealing with sinners. Apparently in this context, Jesus replies to his opponents with three sayings (fr. 2 → i), two that are parallel to Matt. 5:44 and Luke 9:50 (though both are recorded in their respective gospels in a different context), and a third one that is unrecorded: 'He who today is far off, tomorrow will be near to you' (4-5). The tendency towards abridgement in relation to the Synoptic accounts and the way of linking and combining recorded and unrecorded sayings of Jesus are common to X **1224** and **5072**. In addition, according to the editors of **1224**, the papyrus shows more affinities with the Gospel of Luke than with any other gospel, a feature that (as has been mentioned) also seems to characterize **5072**, at least as regards the language (but note that in **5072** we find *γραμματικ[ος* (?), perhaps as synonym of *γραμματεὺς*, and in **1224** fr. 2 ↓ ii, 1 we find the word *γραμματεῖς*; see ↓7-9 n.).

The question of a possible literary dependence of **5072** on other texts known to us remains open. But as often in the case of the apocryphal writings, memory may have played an important role in the making of our papyrus. P. Egerton 2 likely represents the recounting of stories from the Gospel of John and the Synoptics from memory (T. Nicklas, 'The "Unknown Gospel" on Papyrus Egerton 2 [+ Papyrus Cologne 255]', in *Gospel Fragments* 9-120, esp. 107 and 113; see also J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1993) 38; D. Lührmann, E. Schlarb, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (2000) 142-53). Something similar might be said of the text to which X **1224** belongs, which may have taken shape from oral traditions common to the Synoptic gospels and from some extracanonical material (see Kraus, 'Other Gospel Fragments', 278). Thus, if **5072** was not composed (i.e. more or less directly paraphrased) from the canonical gospels themselves, it may have originated from gospel stories orally transmitted which were familiar to the author, based on the accounts (i.e. the narratives of exorcisms) of Matthew, Luke, and, less obviously, Mark, and perhaps on other non-canonical writings or traditions of sayings of Jesus.

We are indebted to Dr R. A. Coles and Professors AnneMarie Luijendijk and J. K. Elliott for their valuable corrections and suggestions.

→

	].ναντιο.[.]...[...].ου.[		]ἐναντίον[.]...[...].οὐκ[
	]αλλακατερρησενοσα.[		]ἀλλὰ κατέρρησεν ὄσα.[
	]νανεκραξελεγων υ̅ε̅ ̅[		]ν̅ ἀνέκραξε λέγων υ̅έ̅ ̅[
	]εσπροκαιρουημασπ.[		ἤλ]θες πρὸ καιροῦ ἡμᾶς π.[
5	]επετιμησεναυτωιλ.[	5	]ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῶι λέ[γων
	]λθεαποτουανθρωπο.[		ἔξ]ελθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [
	]έλθωνεκαθισεν.[		]· ἐλθὼν ἐκάθισεν.[
	]τωνπε.[.]...[...]....		α]ὐτῶν περ[.]...[...]....
	]περιες.[		Ἰ(ησοῦ)]ς περιες.[
10	]ονενδυ.[	10	]ον ενδυ.[
	]ειτικαυτω[		]ει τις αὐτῶ[

↓

].[].[
	]ετ[...]....ομομο.[		]μετ[...]....ου ὁμολ[
	]δασκαλονεγωδεσεαπ[		δι]δάσκαλον ἐγὼ δέ σε ἀπ[αρνήσομαι
	]ουμαθητηγκ'αιεσηαι.[		μ]ου μαθητήν· καὶ ἔση αἰς[χυνόμενος
5	]αταν'αιλεγωῦμινο.[	5	ἔς]χατα· ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν ὁ φ[ιλῶν
	]ουῦπερεμεουκεστ[		αὐ]τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐμέ οὐκ ἐστ[ιν
	]ησε'ιονγραμματικ[		μαθ]ητῆς· εἰ οὖν γραμματικ[
	]ιεροσολυμακαιεισοφ[		]Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ εἰ σοφ[
	]τα...[.]δεβαλεια[		]τα...[.]ἡ δὲ βα(σι)λεια[
10	]ενῦμ.[	10	ἔμ]προ]σθεν ὑμῶ[ν
	]τωναπε.[		συ]νετων ἀπέκ[ρυψε
	]αθητας.[		μ]αθητὰς α.[
].[].[

→

1],, cross-bar of ε, θ [, foot of upright and then another foot with tiny curl to the right (similar to the second foot of previous ν) and blotted ink between them at line level]... [, visible only the back of ↓ fibres, then upper part of circle on the edge, followed by lower part of upright; lower part of upright [, curved upright as of κ, μ 2 [, foot of upright rising from left to right as in η, ι, τ, κ? ; left-hand part of a horizontal trace below the line level belonging probably to the following line 3 [, left-hand tip of high horizontal bar, almost touching below it the upper part of oblique descending from left to right; foot of oblique sloping from left 4], ,

cross-bar on projecting fibre [, oblique hanging to the left from the horizontal of π and over it the start of a descending oblique 5 above]ε on the edge, a trace suggesting right-hand edge of cross-stroke or ascending oblique [, left-hand corner of rhombus 6] , speck linked to cross-bar [, left-hand end of high horizontal 7] , curved upright with junction at middle top-height [, left-hand side of semicircle made of two strokes (ο, ς, ε?) 8] , vertical with foot slightly curved to right; right-hand part of horizontal below the line level belonging to *nomen sacrum* in 9 [.] . [. . .] . . . [, vertical and more ink on displaced fibres; space for one letter; high horizontal on edge (π, τ?); speck; space for two or three letters; upper right-hand curve of semicircle; vertical capped by high horizontal and foot of upright serifed to right (π?) 9 second ε of περιεσ [written over ο [, left-hand part of a horizontal and traces of vertical (τ, π?) 10] , upright with foot curved to right [, left-hand part of semicircle of ο, ς, ε

↓

1] . [, foot of oblique rising to right 2] , perhaps right-hand side of μ [. . .] , space for three letters; traces at line level of horizontal slightly inclined upwards, bottom of a small loop and oblique descending left to right with foot of a vertical; upright; half semicircle or foot of vertical serifed to right [, lower part of oblique rising to right 4] . [, semicircle as of ς or ε 5] , right-hand side of κ or χ [, foot of a vertical below line level 6] , right-hand part of a horizontal at upper line level and vertical with hook to the right hanging from it (τ, π?); trema over υ in lighter ink 7] . . , horizontal linked to vertical topped by another horizontal (τ, ς?) 9] , traces of ends of curves at upper and lower line level (ς?) . . . [.] , two semicircles overlapping each other; upper part of vertical joining an oblique descending to right; specks; space for one or two letters; vertical 10] . . , semicircle ligatured with a loop to the cross-bar of following letter [, loop at upper line level 11] , semicircle linked to following letter (ε, ς?) [, traces of vertical 12] . [, upper part of rather thick oblique rising from left to right, capped by descending oblique, then tip of oblique parallel to it 13] [, horizontal at upper line level, perhaps from a *nomen sacrum*

→

1] ἐναντίον [.] . . [. . .] οὐκ [. After] . ναντιο . , where the papyrus breaks off, only the bottom traces of the line remain. The context of an exorcism suggests that the possessed man comes to meet Jesus or is brought in front of him: see for example Luke 8:27–8 ὑπήντησεν ἀνὴρ τις . . . ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνακράξας προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ; Matt. 8:28 ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι (Mark 5:6 reads καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔδραμεν καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ). Cf. also the healing of the lunatic boy in Mark 9:20 καὶ ἤνεγκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν (in Matthew and Luke's parallel accounts, it is Jesus who asks the father to bring the boy before him) and Luke 5:19 καθήκαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ κλινιδίῳ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Tentatively, we could think of ἐναντίον [τ]οῦ [.

After ου there is a curve similar to the beginning of μ in 4, but κ cannot be ruled out. οὐκ might be supported by the presence of ἀλλά in 2 (cf. Blass–Debrunner § 448.1).

2–3 κατέρρησεν ὄσα [. ο is somewhat separated from the previous and following letter. If the restoration in 5–6 n. is correct and we assume a more or less regular margin, the missing text cannot be very long. We have space for about fourteen letters, which makes it difficult to supply a complement for κατέρρησεν and an appropriate beginning for the next sentence.

The verb καταρρήσσω does not occur in the New Testament. The later use of καταρρήσσω for καταρρήγνυμι is little attested (although the use of ρήσσω for ρήγνυμι is common; see Bauer s.v. προσρήσσω, and Blass–Debrunner § 101.72). The normal meaning of καταρρήγνυμι in active and middle voice is ‘break down’, ‘tear in pieces’. Its use is related to destruction of things (cf. LSJ s.v. 1). This might find its parallel in the episode of the healing of the demoniac in the territory of the Gerasenes, in

which, according to Mark and Luke, the possessed man broke any fastening with which he was tied up. Specifically, Luke 8:29 says that the demoniac was bound with chains and fetters, which he broke: *καὶ ἐδεσμεύετο ἀλύσειν καὶ πέδαις φυλασσόμενος, καὶ διαρρήσων τὰ δεσμά* (cf. Mark 5:4 *καὶ διεσπάζθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀλύσεις καὶ τὰς πέδας συντετριφθαι*). This would be the closest parallel for our text, suggesting for example *ὅσα δ[έ]μα ἐδέσμευον αὐτῷ*. This supplement, however, is probably too long.

The reference to *ενδυ* [in 10 might suggest the idea of the demoniac tearing his garments: *ἀλλὰ κατέρρησεν ὅσα ἱ[μάτια ἐνεδύσατο*. Luke mentions that the possessed man was not wearing clothes: *οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον* (8:27; this is also implied by Mark and Matthew when they report that the man was properly dressed after being healed, as Luke also does). In this case *οὐκ [έχων ἐνδύμα* could also be an appropriate supplement in the previous line (cf. Matt. 3:4, 22:12, and Or. *Hom. 1-39 in Lc. 23.142 τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ μη(δὲ ἐν) ἐνδύμα ἔχων περὶ τὸν χρώτα*). Again, this is speculative, and the supplemented text might be too long.

Another restoration, which in this case suits the requirements of space, would be *ὅσα ἱ[ε]χυνε*. The use of *ἱεχύνω* as 'be able' is common (cf. Bauer s.v. 2.a; Lampe s.v.): Ps.-Just. *Confut.* 145.c.6 *οὐκ ἄρα ποιεῖ ὁ θεὸς ὅσα βούλεται, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἱεχύνει*; Thdt. *Com. in Is.* 12.217 "πάντα" γὰρ φησιν "ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ὁ κύριος ἐποίησεν", οὐχ ὅσα ἱεχυσεν ἀλλ' ὅσα ἠθέλησεν. The use of *ὅσα* in absolute sense ('as many', 'as much') is also well attested in the New Testament (cf. Bauer s.v. *ὅσος* 2; see for example Matt. 17:12 *ἀλλὰ ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἠθέλησαν*). Note that the verb *ἱεχύνω* occurs in the episode of the demoniac(s) of Gadara/Gerasa according to Matthew and Mark, used in the sense of 'being able': *ὥστε μὴ ἱεχύνειν τινὰ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης* (Matt. 8:28); *οὐδεὶς ἱεχυσεν αὐτὸν δαμάσαι* (Mark 5:4). Acts 19:16 uses the verb *ἱεχύνω* to express the power of the demons to control other people: *κατακυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων ἱεχυσεν κατ' αὐτῶν ὥστε γυμνοὺς καὶ τετραυματισμένους ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐκείνου*. In any case, the proposal still remains very speculative.

Taking into account the synthetic way in which 5072 seems to recount a story that is also contained in the Synoptic gospels, I have also considered the possibility of understanding *καταρρήσσω* as intransitive, with the meaning 'fall to the ground', close to the meaning of *ρήγνυμι* ('break forth', cf. LSJ s.v. c) or of *καταρράσσω* ('to fall down'), which might be easily confused with *καταρρήσσω* (cf. LSJ s.v. *καταρράσσω*). The verb *ρήσσει* occurs in the healing of the lunatic boy according to Mark 9:18 in the sense of 'throwing to the ground': *καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ ρήσσει αὐτόν, καὶ ἀφρίζει καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ ξηραίνεται*. The parallel passage of Luke 9:39 has *σπαράσσει* in the sense of 'throwing into convulsions': *καὶ ἰδὸν πνεῦμα λαμβάνει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξαίφνης κράζει καὶ σπαράσσει αὐτὸν μετὰ ἀφροῦ* (D and a Latin MS (e) read *ρήσσει καὶ σπαράσσει*). But further down, when Jesus meets the boy, Luke uses *ρήσσω*: *ἔτι δὲ προσερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἔρρηξεν αὐτὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ συνεσπάραξεν* (Lk. 9:42). Here Mark's parallel passage shows certain variation: *καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα εὐθὺς συνεσπάραξεν αὐτόν, καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυλίετο ἀφρίζων* (Mk. 9:20). Matthew's narrative (17:15) is more synthetic and departs from Mark and Luke. The boy's convulsions are mentioned by the pleading father: *κύριε, ἐλέησόν μου τὸν υἱόν, ὅτι σεληνιαζεται καὶ κακῶς πάσχει· πολλάκις γὰρ πίπτει εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*.

Finally, it must be said that the traces of ink exclude *ὁ Κατανᾶς* (and most likely *ὁ Καμαρείτης*) and that the transitive use of *καταρρήσσω* and spacing do not suggest reading *ὅσακ[ι]ς ἐὰν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ*, as a parallel to the passage of the healing of the lunatic boy according to Mark 9:18: *καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ ρήσσει αὐτόν*.

3 Before *ἀνέκραξε λέγων* we expect something like *ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν* or *ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν ἱ[η]σ[ου]ν*. We find a similar expression at the exorcism at Gerasa in Luke 8:28: *ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνακράξας προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἶπεν* (cf. also Mark 9:20: *καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα εὐθὺς συνεσπάραξεν αὐτόν*). Space favours *ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν ἱ[η]σ[ου]ν*, but the expected traces of the horizontal bar of the *nomen sacrum* are not visible.

The verb *ἀνακράζω* occurs in the episode of the exorcism at the synagogue of Capharnaum—

the only case in which Mark offers the best parallel: *καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ καὶ ἀνέκραξεν λέγων* (Mark 1:23–4). In the same account Luke says, *ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἔχων πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου καὶ ἀνέκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ* (Luke 4:33). In the exorcism of Gerasa, Luke reports that the possessed man *ἀνακράξας προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ* (Luke 8:28; cf. 23:18 *ἀνέκραγον . . . λέγοντες*). The parallel passage of Matthew (8:29) reads *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔκραξαν λέγοντες*. This combination of *κράζω* with *λέγω* is more frequent in the First Gospel (cf. 14:30, 15:22, 20:30, 20:31, 21:9, and 27:23), but it also occurs in Mark 3:11, John 7:37, and Acts 16:17 and 19:28.

3–4 $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ $\overline{\tau}$. Some faint stains before the papyrus breaks might be remains of blotted ink. In the exorcism at the lake the versions of Mark (5:7) and Luke (8:28) say, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν* (Luke: *δέομαί σου*), *μή με βασανίσῃς*. The parallel passage of Matthew (8:29) reads *τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ; ἦλθες ὡδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς*. At the synagogue of Capharnaum the possessed man shouts, *τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς* (Luke 4:34 // Mark 1:24). The closeness of the text to the two episodes of driving out demons suggests the restoration $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ $\overline{\tau}$, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ἦλθες*, since it occurs in both contexts, at the lake and at the synagogue of Capharnaum.

$\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ occurs abbreviated in this form in Didym. Caec. *In Zachariam* 2.205 (Van Haelst 647) with overline and in *Acta Juliani* (Mém. Miss. arch. fr. IX 1892/3, 333 and 146, 68.1; Van Haelst 707; Panopolis, 5th/6th century) in profane use without being overlined. As a *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ is attested in P. Chester Beatty I (P⁴⁵). Crönert, *Mem. graec. herc.* 123 n. 5, notes *inter alia* $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ in cod. Alexandrinus in LXX, *ᾠδαί* 14.13.

The traces are difficult to match with any expected reading. The blotted ink might belong to a deleted word, which could explain the wider space between $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ $\overline{\tau}$ and the following *nomen sacrum*. The papyrus might have just read $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ $\overline{\theta}$ $\overline{\nu}$, which is the closest parallel to the Synoptic texts (without article in Eus. in Ps. 67 [PG 23.684], Or. in Matt. [GCS 16.13]), but the traces are difficult to match with θ .

I have also tried $\overline{\nu}$ for $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ $\overline{\psi}$ $\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\upsilon}$, because *υἱὲ τοῦ ὑψίστου* is the reading of D Ξ f¹ 892 1424 2542 *pc* l v^{ms} in Luke 8:28 (see also Luke 1:32 *υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται* and Sir. 4:10; *Protev.* 24) but the traces are not very encouraging. Besides, *ὑψιστος* is not attested as *nomen sacrum* elsewhere (to suggest that the scribe abbreviated it, as he did with *βασιλεία* in \downarrow 9, is too speculative). The reading $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ $\overline{\delta}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\delta}$ for *υἱὲ Δαβίδ* (cf. Matt. 9:27, 15:22, 20:30, and parallels in Mark 10:47, 48) does not seem to match the traces either. $\overline{\nu}$ may match the traces, but, again, a *nomen sacrum* beginning with ν is not attested. The reading $\overline{\pi}$ cannot be completely excluded, which would suggest $\overline{\pi}$ $\overline{\rho}$. However, we would have to assume that Jesus is addressed with a rather surprising title in a gospel story. ‘Son of the Father’ is obviously a common early title for Christ, mostly with article, but it is not found with this wording in the New Testament. With no article it is occasionally attested in Christian writers (e.g. Ign. *Rom.* 1 *ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ πατρὸς*).

4 $\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\lambda}$ $\overline{\theta}$ $\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\upsilon}$. The words are similar to the exorcism at the lake according to Matthew: *ἦλθες ὡδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς* (Matt. 8:29). Matthew is also the only one of the Synoptic gospels to use the expression *πρὸ καιροῦ* (which occurs once more in the New Testament, in 1 Cor. 4:5). A similar complaint of the demoniacs about Jesus but with no temporal reference occurs in the exorcism at the synagogue of Capharnaum narrated by Mark and Luke: *ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς* (Mark 1:24 // Luke 4:34).

$\overline{\pi}$ $\overline{\tau}$. After the clear $\overline{\pi}$ the remains suit λ . We would expect a synonym of *βασανίσαι* (cf. Matt. 8:29) or *ἀπολέσαι* (cf. Mark 1:24, Luke 4:34). A good option would be to restore $\overline{\pi\alpha}$ $\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\lambda}$ $\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\iota}$. The verb *παραπόλλυμι*, which also has the meaning ‘destroy’, does not occur in the New Testament or in the Septuagint, but it is not uncommon in documentary papyri from the second/third century (IV 705 73; XXXIV 2709 20; BGU II 388 II 10; see also Bauer s.v.). It is, however, mostly used in the middle or passive voice, and rarely in the active (Eus. *d.e.* 4.13; [Cyr.] *coll.* VT [PG 77.1289]).

5–6 Out of the fourteen occasions in which *ἐπετίμησεν* occurs in the Synoptics, eight are in

episodes of exorcisms or healings (including the calming of the storm at the lake and the healing of Peter's mother-in-law). The closest parallel to **5072** would be the words of the exorcism at the synagogue of Capharnaum: καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, φημώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (Luke 4:35 and Mark 1:25; cf. also the exorcism of the lunatic boy in Matt. 17:18 καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον). The language is also characteristic of ancient rituals of exorcism (for instance, PGM IV 1243–4 ἔξελεθε, δαίμων, . . . καὶ ἀπόστηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνα; see also IV 3013, V 125–6, 129–31, 158, and G. H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist: A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Jesus* (1993) 38–9). Thus, the papyrus might have read ὁ δὲ ἰϛ] ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ λέγων· φημώθητι καὶ ἔξ]ελθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

7]· ἐλθὼν ἐκάθισεν. At the beginning of the line, the traces suggest γ rather than ι, which is normally more vertical.

At this point we do not have parallels for a good restoration. Between ἀνθρώπου (6) and ἐλθὼν, we should expect a description of the demon leaving his victim amid convulsions and shouting as in other New Testament exorcisms (Mark 1:26, 9:26, Luke 4:35), but punctuation and the expected spacing allow for only a few words. We might restore [ὁ δὲ ἀπήλθεν | ἐξήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] (cf. Matt. 8:32, the exorcism at the lake: οἱ [sc. δαίμονες] δὲ ἐξελλόντες ἀπήλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους; Matt. 17:18, the healing of the lunatic boy: καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον; and Luke 5:13 (|| Mark 1:42): καὶ εὐθέως ἢ λέπρα ἀπήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ). A restoration based on the parallels of the healing of the lunatic boy, such as [καὶ οὗτος ἐθεραπεύθη] (cf. Matt. 17:18) or [καὶ ο ἰϛ ἰάσατο αὐτόν] (cf. Luke 9:42), does not seem very promising and is difficult to match with spacing and traces.

For the wording of ἐλθὼν in combination with ἐκάθισεν, see Chrys. *Hom. 1–55 in Ac. 3* (PG 60.354) ὄρα, εὐθέως ἐλθὼν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

Although biblical Greek does not follow fixed rules in the use of the movable ν, and MSS almost invariably write it (Blass–Debrunner § 20), its presence in ἐκάθισεν suggest that the traces following it might belong to ο rather than ε, for κατέρρησεν and ἐπετίμησεν in 2 and 5 and ἀνέκραξε in 3 show that the scribe is consistent in following the classical norm. Thus, a supplement beginning with ε seems unlikely, although a word such as ε[ωφρονῶν would not be inappropriate, bearing in mind that a reference to the healing is needed and the passages of Mark and Luke on the exorcism at Gerasa recount how the people of the town came to see what the herdsmen had told them and found the man from whom the demons had gone sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind: καὶ εὔρον καθήμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀφ' οὗ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐξήλθεν ἱματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Luke 8:35; cf. Mark 5:15 θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον καθήμενον ἱματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα). Punctuation and, probably, the need of a subject might favour restoring just ὁ [ἄνθρωπος].

8 α]ὐτῶν. There are several possibilities of restoration. ἐν μέσῳ α]ὐτῶν would suit the context (cf. Luke 2:46 καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων; Jer 46:14 καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ; *Ev. Barth.* 3.1 καὶ ἀπήλθεν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν). This would be favoured by the expression εἰς τὸ μέσον in the exorcism at the synagogue in Luke 4:35. But μετ' α]ὐτῶν would be equally possible, and perhaps more appropriate for the space, if a subject is needed after ἐκάθισεν (cf. Judges (A) 19:4 καὶ ἐκάθισεν μετ' αὐτοῦ).

περ[.] . . . [. . .]. At this point the papyrus is much damaged. The exorcism of Gerasa according to Luke refers to the healed man seated at the feet of Jesus: καὶ εὔρον καθήμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Luke 8:35; cf. Mark 5:15). This might favour restoring περ[ι]-πτ[ύ]σα]ς τ[ο]ὺς πόδας ἰϛ, which would suit the traces (the reading περ[ι]πτ[ύ]σα]ς π[ό]δας ἰϛ cannot be ruled out). περιπτύσσω does not occur in the New Testament or the Septuagint, but it is attested with the meaning of embracing somebody's feet. See *Chr. pat.* 1225 ὤμωξε δ' εὐθὺς καὶ περιπτύσσει πόδας; Mich. Psell. *Theo.* 73 αἱ δὲ δύο τοὺς πόδας περιεπτύσσοντο; P. Berl. Sarisch. 17.3–4 (7th cent.) περιπτύσσομαι τοὺς πόδας τοῦ θεοφ[ύ]λακτου μου] δεσπότου διὰ τοῦ μετρίου μου γράμματος. Spacing would also suggest the omission of the article before Ἰησοῦ in the restored line (in Luke 8:35 the

article before Ἰησοῦ is omitted by Ψ⁷⁵ and B; see also Or. Fr. 1–112 in Lc. [GCS 9.113]; *Schol. in Lc.* 8,39 [PG 17.336]; Jo. D. *Parall.* 10.1 [PG 96.56]). However, περι[ι]π[ι]ξ[α]ς may not make sense, if the healed man was already seated; besides, the use of the participle is more common before the verb. So perhaps we should relate περι[.] . . . [to περιεσ[.] in the following line.

9 For Ἰ(ησοῦς) see introd.

περιεσ[.] . Where the papyrus breaks, the traces are closer to σπ in 4 than στ in ↓6. If we read περιεσπ[., this could lead to restoring περιέσπ[αεσ or περιεσπ[άατο. The verb περιεσπ[άω occurs in the passive in the Gospel of Luke in the sense of ‘being distracted or busy’ (Luke 10:40). In the active it can mean ‘to strip off’ (cf. LSJ s.v. 1.1; D.S. 19.9 καὶ ταῦτα λέγων τὸ μὲν χλαμύδιον αὐτοῦ περιέσπασε, τὸ δ’ ἱμάτιον μεταλαβὼν ἀπήει; see also Plu. *Nic.* 8.6 περιεσπ[άσας τὸ ἱμάτιον), which allows for a certain relation to ενδυ[.] in the following line and a connection with the exorcism at the lake. But in Luke’s narrative of the exorcism in Gerasa, at the beginning of the episode, the possessed man is presented as wearing no clothes: οὐκ ἐνεδύατο ἱμάτιον (Luke 8:27; similarly, Mark 5:15 recounts towards the end of the episode that the villagers found the man sitting there clothed). The reading περιεσπ[αεσ would be possible if we assume that the possessed man was wearing old clothes, which Jesus removes before covering him with new ones. The use of the verb περιεσπ[άω with this meaning might also be favoured by the use of διασπ[άω in Mark 5:4, in which we are told what the possessed man did with the chains he had on him, for the papyrus seems to like using words of similar root to those of the Synoptic narratives (see the use of καταρρήσσω above). But there is no close Synoptic text that might offer a parallel for a good restoration.

περιεσπ[άατο in the middle sense could also be understood as ‘removing oneself’ from someone or something, so that one could posit that according to 5072 Jesus did not want the man to touch him (a reminiscence perhaps of μὴ μου ἅπτου in John 20:17, where the embracing of Jesus’ feet might be implied; see also Matt. 28:9). Thus, we might expect something like περιεσπ[άατο ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ and assume that Jesus would then order him to be covered with some clothes or something similar.

A reading of τ instead of π would suggest περιέστ[ειλεν. The use of περιεστέλλω is not attested in the New Testament, though its use in the Old Testament and early Christian literature with the meaning of wrapping something in either a literal or a metaphorical sense is common (Bauer s.v.). The presence of ενδυ[.] in the following line would suggest a relation between the two words. But περιεστέλλω can also mean ‘to take care’, ‘to defend’, ‘to protect’ (cf. LSJ s.v. περιεστέλλω, III.2), which multiplies the number of possible senses of the text.

10]ον ενδυ[.] . Before the break, both c and o suit the traces. So ἐνδύς[αι or another infinitive as well as a participle such as ἐνδύ[μενον are possible. In any case, this recalls the story of the exorcism at the lake according to Luke 8:35 and Mark 5:15, in which the people of the town who went to see what had happened to the man who had been possessed by the devil found him sitting down and ἱματισμένον.

Very speculatively, it might be possible to posit an order of Jesus with the verb κελεύω (e.g. Matt. 8:18, Luke 18:40): ὁ δὲ ἰ[η]σ[χ] περιέστ[ειλεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἱμάτ]ιον ἐνδύς[αι ἐκέλευεν (cf. Acts of Paul and Thecla, 38 καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευεν ἐνεχθῆναι ἱμάτια καὶ εἶπεν ἐνδύσαι τὰ ἱμάτια). But there is nothing in the text to support it.

11]εἰ τις αὐτῷ[.] . Although the first two letters are damaged, ε1 seems quite likely. The text admits several supplements, but none of them has a good gospel parallel.

↓

2–5 For parallels to these lines we refer to the following sayings of Jesus in the Synoptic gospels:

A(1) Luke 12:8–9. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, πᾶς ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ. ⁹ ὁ δὲ ἀρνήσαμενός με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ.

A(2) Matt. 10:32–3. πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν [τοις] οὐρανοῖς.³³ ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσεται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρνήσομαι καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν [τοις] οὐρανοῖς.

B(1) Luke 9:26. ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῆ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους, τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων.

B(2) Mark 8:38. ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυνθῆ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται αὐτόν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἀγίων.

2–3] .εῖτ[. . .] ου ὁμολ[. . .]. The first traces may belong to μ. After εῖτ[. . .] the remains suit Δ or μ, linked to the bottom of another letter, perhaps α (as in δι]δάσκαλον in the following line or γραμματικ[ός in ↓7); κ is also possible but less likely. After that, there is the foot of a vertical and a curve.] . . . εῖτου is perhaps the most likely reading, but] . . . πρου cannot be completely ruled out. After ὁμο there is a small oblique suitable for either λ or μ.

If ὁμολ[is correct, the presence of ce in the following line suggests that Jesus is here telling somebody (or uttering a general statement but addressed to a single person) that if hc(?) does not confess him as master, Jesus will not recognize him as his disciple. This would be reminiscent of Luke 12:8–9 (cf. Matt. 10:32–3; see also John 13:13 ὑμεῖς φωνεῖτέ με ὁ διδάσκαλος). But it is difficult to guess what the papyrus read before this, although we would expect some negative conditional statement.

This context also suggests the restoration of ἀπ[αρνήσομαι in 3 (cf. Luke 12:9 ἀπαρνηθήσεται quoted above). I have not found parallels for the verb ἀπαρνέομαι expressing the rejection of somebody as disciple, but ἀπ[αρνήσομαι εἶναί μου μαθητήν would not be impossible; see also Luke 22:34 τρίς με ἀπαρνήσει εἰδέναι.

4 αἰς[. α is almost certain. αἰς[χυνόμενος fits the context of the previous lines: Jesus would be telling his addressee that if he does not recognize him as master, Jesus will not accept him as disciple, and he will be ashamed. This is parallel to Luke 9:26 and Mark 8:38, quoted above. The wording ἔση αἰσχυνόμενος is found in [Chrys.] *Fug. spec.* (PG 48.1074) ἤξει καιρὸς ὅτε τὸ προσωπεῖον τοῦτο ῥίψας γυμνὸς εὐρεθήσῃ, καὶ τότε ἔση αἰσχυνόμενος ὀφθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

5]χατα. At the beginning of the line there is a trace of an oblique ascending from left to right beyond the normal height of the letters, which does not fit the upper oblique of κ. We can think of χ, but there is not another visible χ in the text to confirm how the scribe wrote it.

If we allow for χ, we could restore εἰς τὰ ἔχ]χατα, perhaps as a way of expressing that the shame that the disciple will have to endure for not recognizing Jesus will last forever. Jesus's words in the texts of Luke 9:26 and 12:8–9 quoted above are in fact said in an eschatological context and also suit this restoration. As referring to time, εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον in absolute sense is common (see LSJ s.v. 1.4 and Bauer s.v. 3); the plural is unusual but occurs in LXX 2 Sam. 2:26 οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι πικρὰ ἔσται εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα; see also Didym. *Trin.* (PG 39.920) ὁ τοὺς ἐσομένους εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα ψευδοπροφήτας προσημάνας.

At the end of the line, only the foot of a vertical that seems to extend below the line is visible. What follows in the next line makes it likely that we should read φ, as in 8.

5–7 For a possible restoration of the text, the following parallels from the Synoptic gospels and the *Gospel of Thomas* are relevant:

Matt. 10:37–8. ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.³⁸ καὶ ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.

Luke 14:26–7. εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρὸς με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ δύναται

εἶναί μου μαθητής. ²⁷ ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής.

Luke 14:33. οὕτως οὖν πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὃς οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής.

Gospel of Thomas 55. ΠΕΤΑΜΕΣΤΕ ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΑΝ ΜΝ̄ ΤΕΦΜΑΑΥ ΦΝΑΨΡ̄ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΝ
ΝΑΕΙ ΑΓΩ ΝΦΜΕΣΤΕ ΝΕΦCΝΗ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΦCΩΝΕ ΝΦΦΕΙ ΜΠΕΦC†ΟC ΝΤΑΖΕ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ
ΑΝ ΕΦΟ ΝΑΞΙΟC ΝΑΕΙ

Gospel of Thomas 101. ΠΕΤΑΜΕΣΤΕ ΠΕΦΕ[ΕΙΩΤ Α]Ν ΜΝ̄ ΤΕΦΜΑΑΥ ΝΤΑΖΕ ΦΝΑΨΡ̄Μ[Α-
ΘΗΤΗ]C [ΝΑ]ΕΙ ΑΝ ΑΓΩ ΠΕΤΑΜΡ̄ΡΕ ΠΕ[ΦΕΙΩΤ ΑΝ ΜΝ̄ Τ]ΕΦΜΑΑΥ ΝΤΑΖΕ ΦΝΑΨΡ̄Μ[Α-
ΘΗΤΗC ΝΑ]ΕΙ ΑΝ

ὁ φιλῶν --- αὐ]τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστ[ιν --- μαθ]ητής. The lacunae can be restored according to the line of reasoning expressed in the texts quoted above, but space probably allows for only one word as the object of φιλῶν. It does not seem very likely that 5072 read $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$ ἢ $\overline{\mu\rho\alpha}$, abbreviated as *nomina sacra*, as sometimes occurs in profane use (see Paap 103–4, 113). Perhaps the text read ὁ φιλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐ]τοῦ (cf. Luke 14:26, above, and perhaps John 12:25 ὁ φιλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολλύει αὐτήν).

In 6–7 we could restore οὐκ ἔστ[ιν μου ἄξιος εἶναι μαθ]ητής from the Synoptic parallels. The supplemented text is a combination of οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος of Matt. 10:38 and οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής in Luke 14:27 (see also Luke 14:33, above). For the restored wording, see Or. *Jō.* 32.32.398 ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ ὃς ἂν μὴ ἄρη τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθήσει ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος εἶναι μαθητής. Dr Henry observes that this restoration exceeds the corresponding area of writing on →5–6 (assuming the supplements proposed are correct), but that οὐκ ἔστ[ιν ἐμοῦ ἄξιος μαθ]ητής would fit.

7–9 I cannot find any parallels for these lines. Sentences beginning with εἰ οὖν are found among the sayings of Jesus in Matthew and Luke (Matt. 6:23, 7:11 || Luke 11:13, Matt. 22:45, Luke 11:36, 12:26, 16:11; see also John 13:14, 18:8). The text suggests a certain parallelism between the sentence continuing with γραμματικ[and that continuing with σοφ[.

The word γραμματικός does not occur in the New Testament; however, it does occur in the Septuagint, in Isaiah 33:18 (ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ γραμματικοί; MS 86 reads ὁ γραμματεὺς), a text that is quoted by Paul in 1 Corinthians 1:20 with some variants, and in Daniel 1:4 (νεανίσκουσ . . . γραμματικούς καὶ συνετοὺς καὶ σοφοὺς). In the first case γραμματικοί translates the word רִשְׁפָּ (*sofer*), in the singular in the Masoretic Text, to refer to those who do the counting or to learned men in general; in the second γραμματικούς translates גֹּדְעֵי דַא'אֵת (*yode' y da'at*) with the meaning of ‘people well informed’, ‘endowed with knowledge’ (Theodotion’s version reads *γιγνώσκοντας γνώσειν* instead of *γραμματικούς*). The *sofer*, the Jewish interpreter of the Law, who was a grammarian and editor of the Bible, had a similar function to that of the γραμματικός, the Greek literary critic and grammarian (see S. Lieberman, ‘Rabbinic Interpretation of the Scripture’, in *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1962) 38–46; for γραμματικός, as teacher of grammar, see R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (2001) 53–5; *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 167–9). But *sofer* is normally translated into Greek as γραμματεὺς, ‘scribe’, a term that came to be used for a wide range of occupations (interpreters of the Law, teachers, secretaries, local officials, bailiffs, etc.: see R. Schwartz, “Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites”: Who are the “Scribes” in the New Testament?, in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (1992) 89–101; C. Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period* (1998) esp. 274–327). Therefore, it is possible that γραμματεὺς and γραμματικός were sometimes confused, since both could be employed to indicate a similar function (see also M. Goodman, ‘Texts, Scribes and Power in Roman Judaea’, in A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf, *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (1994) 103).

In our papyrus, the connections with the canonical gospels and the reference to Jerusalem in the

next line might suggest identifying *γραμματικός* with *γραμματεὺς*. Matthew mentions some scribes coming to talk with Jesus from the Holy City (15:1; cf. Mark 3:22, 7:1, 11:27) and tells how Jesus announced his sufferings in Jerusalem at the hands of the elders and scribes (Matt. 16:21, 20:18 || Mark 10:33). The identification could also be supported by Paul's use of *γραμματεὺς* instead of *γραμματικοί* when quoting Is. 33:18 (LXX) in 1 Cor. 1:20 (*ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεὺς; ποῦ συζητητῆς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου;*) and by the presence of *σοφ[* in the following line, for *γραμματεῖς* and *σοφούς* occur together in Matt. 23:34: *ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς προφήτας καὶ σοφούς καὶ γραμματεῖς* (but see below).

The writer of the text of our papyrus might have used the unusual *γραμματικός(-οί)* instead of the habitual New Testament term *γραμματεὺς(-εῖς)* to refer to a Jewish scribe because he was not well informed concerning the specific historical details reported by the Synoptic gospels, or because he was aware of the difference between the two words and wanted to use *γραμματικός* accurately to designate the experts in the Law in Jesus' time. Note also that P. Egerton 2, 1↓, 2 uses the term *νομικοί* instead of *γραμματεῖς*. As an explanation, it has been suggested that its author lacked interest in the concrete historical circumstances of the Palestinian background to Jesus' life or did not have adequate knowledge of them (cf. Nicklas, 'The "Unknown Gospel"' 26, 112). In any case, the writer of 5072 might have used *γραμματικός* to refer in a loose sense to learned and wise Jewish people (see the commentary on *σοφ[* below).

σοφ[. The natural association between 'grammarians' and 'masters of rhetoric' would suggest supplying here *σοφ[ισταί* rather than *σοφ[οί*: see Plu. *Aep.* 6.9 οὐ γὰρ μόνον γραμματικοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ ῥήτορες; *Clemen.* 51.21 (*Hom.* 4.17) ὧν τινες γραμματικοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις [θεῶν] ἀξίας εἶναι βεβαιούσιν. The word *σοφιστής*, like *γραμματικός*, does not occur in the New Testament. It occurs, however, in the Greek Old Testament, once in the book of Exodus (Ex 7:11) and eight times in the book of Daniel (1:20, 2:14, 2:18, 2:24 (twice), 2:48, 4:18, 4:37), mainly to refer to sages of a non-Israelite background (T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, s.v.). Like *γραμματικός*, *σοφιστής* might have also been used in a loose sense to designate 'wise men', and not with its technical meaning of 'teachers of rhetoric' (for this use, Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 56–9; *Writing, Teachers, and Students* 169–70). But it also might have been used with the negative meaning of 'quibblers' or 'charlatans' (see e.g. J. *Ap.* 2.236; for the use of *σοφισταί* in Josephus' writings and its unlikely identification with scribes, cf. Schams, *Jewish Scribes* 252–7; see also H. G. Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World* (2000) 184–5).

Nevertheless, the supplement *σοφ[ός(-οί)* cannot be excluded. On the one hand, *σοφός* might be used as a synonym of *γραμματικός*, and the two appear together in Dan 1:4. On the other hand, as has been said, *γραμματικός* may have been used in the sense of *γραμματεὺς*, which would connect the text of the papyrus with the texts of Matt. 23:34 and 1 Cor. 1:20 quoted above, where *σοφούς* and *γραμματεῖς* occur together.

The reference to Jerusalem, the remains in lines 9–12 and some passages from the canonical gospels might suggest seeing *γραμματικός* and *σοφιστής/σοφός* as designating people who are unable to recognize the presence of the Kingdom (see lines 9–12). In the canonical gospels not only do the 'scribes' belong to the group of people who oppose Jesus (with few exceptions: Matt. 8:19, 13:52, Mark 12:32), but also the 'wise' are among those who do not accept his revelation (Matt. 11:25 || Luke 10:21; see below 11–12 n.; the 'wise' also refers in the New Testament to those who have a wisdom that does not come from God: cf. Rom. 1:22, 1 Cor. 1:19, 3:20, etc.; see Bauer s.v. 2). Consequently, the text invites to interpret *γραμματικός* and *σοφιστής/σοφός* as stereotypes of the Jewish and Greek worlds of wisdom (see Thdt. 1 Cor. 1:20: *καλεῖ μὲν σοφὸν τὸν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ στωμυλία κοσμούμενον γραμματέα δέ, τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδάσκαλον*), representing those who refused to believe in Jesus' message, in opposition to the 'little children', the humble and simple people who accept it (Matt. 11:25 || Luke 10:21).

] *Ἱεροσόλυμα*. Of the 37 times that the word occurs in the New Testament, 35 are in combina-

tion with *εἰς*, which seems to be the natural supplement for the text (in the other two instances *Ἱεροσόλυμα* is the subject of the clause: Matt. 2:3 and 3:5). On 15 occasions *εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* is combined with *ἀναβαίνω* (two in Matthew, two in Mark, one in Luke, three in John). On all other occasions the clause occurs with *ἄπέρχομαι*, *ἐγγίζω*, *εἰσέρχομαι*, *ἔρχομαι*, *συναναβαίνω*, *ἀνάγω*, *πορείαν ποιέω*. (In Acts and Galatians it occurs combined with *ὑποστρέφω*, *πορεύομαι*, *γενέσθαι*, *ἐπιβαίνω*, *ἀνέρχομαι*.)

We would therefore expect here a verb for the conditional clause and a verb of motion before *εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*. Again, if the restored text in the preceding lines is correct, we would only have room for about fifteen or sixteen letters. The previous lines might suggest that Jesus continues his direct speech. Thus, we could consider *εἰ ὅν γραμματικ[ὸς εἶ]*, followed by a verb of movement such as *ἀναβαίνω*, *πορεύομαι*, *ὑπάγω*, or the like. What it is not clear is if we should understand it as a negative or positive command: i.e. *ἀνάβαινε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* or *μὴ ἀνάβαινε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*. In the imperative, *πορεύου εἰς* occurs in Matt. 2:20, Luke 5:24, 7:50, and Acts 22:10, and in several passages of the Septuagint; *ὑπάγε εἰς* in Matt. 9:6, Mark 2:11, 5:19, 5:34, John 7:3, 9:11; *ἀνάβηθι εἰς* only in the Septuagint (Gen. 35:1, Num. 27:12, etc.)

]. *τα . . . [.]*. At this point the traces on the edge of the papyrus are scanty. After the clear *τα*, the scribe may have written first *ε* and then wrote most likely *ς* (although *ο* cannot be excluded) over the *ε*.

The connection between *γραμματικ[ὸς]* and *Ἱεροσόλυμα* points to a certain parallelism between *σοφ[ὸς]* and *τα . . . [.]*. Thus, if we read *σοφ[ιστής]*, we may be invited to restore *εἰς τὰς Ἀθην[άς]*, preceded by a verb of motion in the imperative (*πορεύου*, *ὑπάγε*, etc.). (I owe this suggestion to J. Kerkhecker.) Assuming this reading, Jesus would be saying that the sophist must (or must not) go to Athens—the place naturally associated with a sophist or a wise man from the Greek world—to seek wisdom, as the scribe must (or must not) go to Jerusalem. However, the restoration can only be tentative, for, although the traces do not rule it out, it must be admitted that the space for the missing *α* is probably too narrow.

A restoration that also suits the traces would be *εἰς τὰς αὐλ[άς]*, although, again, there is not much room for the missing *α*, and I have not found a good example of a relationship between *σοφισταί* or *σοφοί* and *αὐλαί*. In the New Testament *αὐλή* is found to refer to a courtyard or to the court of a house, palace, or temple (Bauer s.v.); in the Septuagint it also refers to the abodes of God; in Ps 95:8 we find *εἰσπορεύεσθε εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς αὐτοῦ*.

The reading *εἰς τὰς ὁδο[ύς]* would not be impossible according to the traces. *ὁδός* with *ἐξέρχομαι* occurs in Luke 14:23: *ἔξελθε εἰς τὰς ὁδο[ύς]*. On the supposition that the text is stressing the presence of the Kingdom wherever Jesus is (see 10 below), 5072 would be saying that, if the scribe should not go to Jerusalem, the wise man should not go out to the 'ways': *μὴ ἐξέλθης εἰς τὰς ὁδο[ύς]* (as in the previous case, this could also be stated in a positive sense, *ἔξελθε εἰς τὰς ὁδο[ύς]*, but it makes the text even more difficult to understand). Even though the phrase 'ways of wisdom' (*ὁδοὶ σοφίας*) is not unknown in the Bible (Bar 3:20, 23; Prov 4.11), the saying does not seem to make much sense and renders the reading suspicious. To assume a reference to itinerant teachers, who would exercise their profession on their way from town to town, is too speculative.

I have also tried restoring *εἰς τὰ οἰκ[εῖα]*. The expression *τὰ οἰκεία* is used to mean 'one's own affairs' (Lampe, s.v., 5). *εἰς τὰ οἰκεία* is well attested (e.g., J. *Aḡ* 8.260 *καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία*; [Luc.] *Asin.* 20 *καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἦλθομεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία*; cf. John 19:27 *ἔλαβεν ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτῆν εἰς τὰ ἴδια*; see Bauer, s.v., 1). The exhortation to go back to one's own affairs would be a way of underlining the opposition of human wisdom (cf. LXX Sir. 37:22 *ἔστιν σοφός τῆ ἴδια ψυχῆ*) to the wisdom of God. But, once again, the traces present several difficulties to support this reading.

9–10 For the abbreviation *βαλεια*, see introd. The use of this uncommon abbreviation, as in P. Egerton 2, might be explained because the limits of the *nomina sacra* system were not yet clearly established, though the most basic words were (see C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in*

Early Christian Egypt (1979) 39), but also because the scribe might have just wanted to emphasize some particular words by using the supralinear bar and some form of abbreviation (see Nicklas, ‘The “Unknown Gospel”’ 16–19, with recent bibliography on *nomina sacra*; see also M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (2006) 119–25).

]Ϸθεν. After the break the traces allow for Ϸ or ε. The following letter is written in a way that is not attested elsewhere in the fragment, but it is most likely that we should read θ. It seems that the scribe first ligated the final stroke of the previous letter with the lower left-hand arc and the cross-bar of θ in one single movement and then added the right-hand side. This way of writing θ is close to the one in μ]αθητάς in 12.

ἐμπρο]Ϸθεν ὑμῶ[ν makes sense. This expression may again be paralleled in several Synoptic texts. A relationship between βασιλεία and ἐμπροσθεν is found in Matt. 23:13, but in a context that is not strictly linked to the text of our papyrus (though it is an invective against scribes): οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The adverb ἐμπροσθεν is often used in Matthew; it is less common in Luke and does not occur at all in Mark. Governing a personal pronoun, ἐμπροσθεν occurs in Matt. 11:26 || Luke 10:21 ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἐμπροσθέν σου (see also Matt. 18:14 ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν), a text that is not conceptually linked to our papyrus but could be in the background of lines 10–11.

Given the parallel of Luke 17:21, the restoration ἐντο]Ϸθεν ὑμῶ[ν is not very promising, since ἐντοσθεν seems to occur only in earlier poetry and in rather literary prose of the Roman period (cf. LSJ s.v.).

The style of the text points to a short sentence of the type of Luke 17:21 ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν, but the fragmentary condition of the papyrus allows for several possible restorations. One would be ἡ δὲ βασιλεία [τοῦ θ̄ν (τῶν οὐρανῶν) ἐστιν ἐμπρο]Ϸθεν ὑμῶ[ν. (Spacing might favour [τῶν οὐρανῶν instead of [τοῦ θ̄ν: the term οὐρανῶν could have been written in full, for it is not attested as a *nomen sacrum*, *οὐρανῶν*, before c.AD 220 and is rare before the fifth century: see LXV 4446 ↓1–2 n.) Another possible reading would be ἡ δὲ βασιλεία [τοῦ θ̄ν (τῶν οὐρανῶν) ἔστηκεν ἐμπρο]Ϸθεν ὑμῶ[ν, which could be understood as a reminiscence of Luke 11:20 || Matt. 12:28 εἰ . . . ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. Acts 4:10 παρέστηκεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν, and Matt. 27:11 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐστάθη ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος).

If the text identified the presence of the Kingdom with the presence of the person of Jesus, and bearing in mind the assumed verbs of motion in the previous lines, it would also be possible to restore ἡ δὲ βασιλεία [τοῦ θ̄ν πορεύεται ἐμπρο]Ϸθεν ὑμῶ[ν. This evokes Luke 19:28 καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπορεύετο ἐμπροσθεν ἀναβαίνων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. For ἐμπροσθεν with the verbs ἀποστέλλω and πορεύομαι, see Bauer s.v. ε, and Matt. 11:10 and Luke 7:27 ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἐμπροσθέν σου (cf. Ex. 23:20; see also Ex. 32:34 ὁ ἄγγελός μου προπορεύεται πρὸ προσώπου μου).

A remote possibility would be to read ἡ δὲ βασιλεία [ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν καὶ ἐμπρο]Ϸθεν ὑμῶ[ν. This would find its parallel in *Gospel of Thomas* 3, a saying of Jesus that reads ΤΜΝΤΕΡΩ ΣΜΠΕΤΝΖΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΣΜΠΕΤΝΒΑΛ (‘The kingdom is within you and outside you’), and is partially preserved in Greek: ἡ βασ[ιλεία . . .] ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι[ν] (IV 654 15–16). The rest of the Greek saying might have just said, καὶ ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν, but the sense conveyed by ΣΜΠΕΤΝΒΑΛ is not too distant from the meaning of ἐμπροσθεν. See for instance *Gospel of Thomas* 5 ΣΟΥΩΝΠΕΤΜΠΜΤΟ ΜΠΕΚΖΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΘΗΠ ΕΡΟΚ ΦΝΑΒΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΚ ΜΝΛΑΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΖΗΠ ΕΦΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ, which has also been preserved in Greek: [. . . ἐμπρο]Ϸθεν τῆς ὀψείως σου καὶ [τὸ κεκρυμμένον] ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται[αὶ σοι. οὐ γὰρ ἐ]στιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρὸν γενήσεται] (IV 654 27–30; cf. Matt. 10:26, Mark 4:22, Luke 12:2, and for the Greek text of the *Gospel of Thomas*, see H. W. Attridge, ‘The Greek Fragments’, in B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2–7, i. 112–18). But again the restoration is very speculative (and probably too long) and does not help to make the sense of the text clearer.

11–12]ετων απεκ[. The way in which the scribe ligates ε with τ or ρ shows that we should read ετω and not εγω (as in ↓3 or 5). At the line-end κ is damaged but recognizable. The closeness of]ετων to απεκ[recalls as parallel the text of Luke 10:21 || Matt. 11:25–26 ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας (Matt. ἔκρυψας) ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις. ναὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου. The restoration of the lacunae can again only be tentative: there is no space for the whole sentence of Luke/Matthew, and the style of the saying calls for a subject of ἀποκρύπτω in the first or third person. Judged from Synoptic parallels, the expected reading would have the Father as the subject: ὁ πᾶρ μου ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συν]ετῶν ἀπέκ[ρυψε ταῦτα. But the first part of the supplement may be short for the space, and we do not know whether in this text Jesus may have been the subject of the verb, so that he himself is the one who has hidden the Kingdom from prudent and wise men. On the revelation of hidden things in the *Gospel of Thomas* 5, see 11–12 n. above. In any case, the restoration in the following line suggests a short sentence (see 12 n.).

On the occurrence of συνετός with γραμματικούς and σοφούς in Dan 1:4, see 9 n. above.

12 μ]αθητὰς α. [. At line-end, the traces suggest αυ or δυ. The words μ]αθητὰς ἀψ[τοῦ occur several times in the Synoptics with reference to the disciples of Jesus. We should probably assume a change in the subject of the discourse and read perhaps something like εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μ]αθητὰς ἀψ[τοῦ (cf. Luke 5:30, 9:14, 9:43, 12:1, 12:22, 16:1, 17:1).

J. CHAPA

5073. MARK I 1–2: AMULET

25 3B.58/E(c)

25.2 × 4.5 cm

Late third / fourth century
Plate I

The text of **5073** is written against the fibers on a strip of papyrus, which currently measures 25.2 × 4.5 cm but originally extended to about 26 cm. A small fragment of the right edge remains, though it cannot be placed with absolute confidence. The strip narrows noticeably as it moves from left to right; the vertical measurement of the left side is about 0.5 cm greater than that of the right side, suggesting that this strip of papyrus was either recycled from a pile of scraps or cut without strict aesthetics in mind. Unlike lines 2–5, the indentation of line 1 is unusual. Line 1 begins 6.2 cm from the left edge, whereas a more conventional margin of about 1 cm offsets lines 2–5. Though odd, the effect is clear: line 1, the imperative urging one to ‘Read the beginning of the gospel . . .’, is visually set apart from the quoted gospel text as a sort of heading. For other examples of biblical amulets in a narrow format, see LXXIII **4932** introd.

Given its format and content, **5073** fits well among the host of known biblical amulets. The absence of crease marks and the presence of five regularly spaced insect holes on the top edge suggest that **5073** was not folded, but rolled up from left to right, and worn on a cord around the neck. Rolled amulets were often placed in capsules. For an image of such a container, see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Amulets* (1914, repr. 1972), plate xix no. 133. In addition to the Psalms and the Lord’s Prayer,

incipits from the gospels were frequently made into amulets. See for example PSI VI 719, which includes, among other biblical excerpts, the opening lines of each of the four gospels. PSI VI 719 also makes explicit what is implicit in **5073**. At the close of two of its citations, Psalm 90:1 (LXX Ps 91:1) and Matthew 6:9 (the beginning of the *Pater noster*), PSI VI 719 stops short of quoting the entire passage and adds ‘and the rest’ (καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς) as a stand-in for the remainder. It may be that the same ‘and so on and so forth’ is implied after the four gospel incipits.

The opening lines of Mark lend themselves to a ‘magical’ reading. Consider the quotation from the prophets in verse 2: ‘Behold, I will send my angel before you . . .’—this phrase serves as a guarantee of angelic protection, an assurance worth keeping close to the body. Ancient Christians often sought assistance from beneficent angels. A similar text preserved in the Christian magical papyri asks Jesus Christ to ‘send down’ his ‘holy arch-angels,’ so that they might dwell ‘in his presence’ for protection (PGM vol. II, Christliches 21). See also PGM VII.278–9 and P. Köln VIII 340 for similar parallels. Consider also the final phrase ‘who will prepare . . .’: preparation also frequently appears in the magical papyri. See for example PGM III.291, VII.866, XII.15, XII.210, and XIII.1027. It often describes a prescribed set of actions—setting up of materials, inscription or recitation of magic formulae, etc.—which stand as a precondition of divine or angelic action. Without the preparation, the charm is ineffective. The angel in Mark 1:2 will handle all this himself, if not actually, then figuratively, greatly lessening the burden on the supplicant, who might otherwise need to collect obscure and often expensive materials as part of the preparation.

In addition to the exaggerated margin of line 1, certain characteristics of the hand in this opening line distinguish it from lines 2–5. In general the hand of line 1 stands about 5 degrees more upright. Letter strokes are also slightly thicker, so that they suggest a different pen. Other noteworthy differences include the ω, which has a higher middle bar in line 1 than other examples in lines 2–5. The τϵ combination also may vary. In line 1 the top stroke of the τ loops around and becomes the top bar of the ϵ. In lines 2, 3 and possibly 4, the top bar of the τ drops at a right angle and forms the back bar of the ϵ. The dieresis also differs slightly from line 1 to line 3. These features might suggest that the hand of line 1 is not the hand responsible for lines 2–5. However, the degree of variation in letter forms in lines 2–5 alone (see for example η and ο) indicates that our scribe was inconsistent and, given the chance to copy more text, would eventually reintroduce the letter forms peculiar to line 1. Still, the differences in margin, letter angle, and stroke thickness suggest that a single scribe copied this text in two stages, perhaps with a stylus change in between. It is not impossible that line 1 is a later addition.

On the ↓ side about 13 cm from the left edge, one can see a stroke emerge from the bottom edge at about a 45° angle. Another ink trace, this one a triangle-shaped blotch, is visible on top edge of the → side about 3 cm from the right side.

Similar but less conspicuous marks are visible on the ↓ side, one on the top edge 0.6 cm off of the damaged end, and another on the left edge 0.5 cm from the bottom. These marks could indicate that the areas immediately surrounding **5073** were already inscribed at the time our strip was cut. We know of at least one instance in which a scribe copied multiple magical texts prior to cutting them. XVI **1926** and P. Rendel Harris 54, Christian oracular responses stated in the affirmative and the negative respectively, were first inscribed on one sheet and then cut. It became the task of modern editors to reunite them. See H. Youtie, ‘Questions to a Christian Oracle’, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 253–7. On the other hand, these marks could be little more than ink smears and splatters.

The hand of **5073** is roughly bilinear. The mixture of broad/narrow and angular/curved letter forms places this hand within Turner’s Formal Mixed category and, in particular, alongside a cluster of hands within this class that slope right without losing the roundness of their narrow letters (Turner, *GMAW*² 22). VII **1015**, an anonymous encomium on Theon (Turner, *GMAW*², plate 50; later III) and P. Herm. Rees 4, the *Letter to Theophanes* (Turner, *GMAW*², plate 70; c.325), provide datable parallels to **5073**. Note the following parallels: α is often formed with a rounded or wedge-shaped loop and a long arched tail. ι, ρ, γ, and φ frequently extend below the bottom line. Two-stroke γ, formed by attaching a small stroke descending left to right to a long forward slash, high-bar η, and ω with a ripple in place of a middle bar are paralleled only in VII **1015**. Thus, a date from the late third to the fourth century is appropriate.

An apostrophe is used to separate doubled consonants three times in **5073** (εὐαγγέλιου twice and ἀγγέλον once), a feature consonant with our assigned date (Turner, *GMAW*² 19). Diaeresis appears twice in **5073**, inorganic in line 1, ἰδε, and organic in line 3, ησαῖα. **5073** does not contain iota adscripts. ιησου and χριστου in line 2 are written as *nomina sacra*. In both instances three-letter abbreviations are used, and the supralinear stroke sits atop the second and third letters.

5073 should be regarded as an auspicious addition to the manuscript tradition of Mark for at least three reasons. First, thus far only five other Greek papyri preserve portions of Mark’s gospel: PSI VI 791, P. Vindob. inv. G. 348 (= R. W. Daniel, *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983) 400–404; Rahlfs–Fraenkel 2173, p. 392), Gregory–Aland P⁴⁵ (P. Chest. B. Pap. g. 31974), P⁸⁴ (P. A. M. Kh. Mird 4, 11), and P⁸⁸ (CU, Milan inv. 69.24). Among these, the first two preserve Mark’s openings lines, although they do so within a string of biblical quotations. Second, **5073** is roughly contemporaneous with, if not earlier than, Sinaiticus (Ⲭ) and Vaticanus (B), until now the earliest witnesses to Mark’s first two verses. Finally, **5073** is the first manuscript of Mark found at Oxyrhynchus. (The reference to ‘beloved son’ in VIII **1162** is too general to be considered an allusion to Mark: see E. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Criticism 1962–2004* (2005) 768 n. 96).

The notes below present a collation following the manuscript abbreviations

used in the 27th edition of Nestle–Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (hereafter NA²⁷)—abbreviations that are explained in the introduction to that edition. The text of NA²⁷ is also included in the collation in parentheses and in final position, abbreviated as follows: (NA²⁷). For *ως* and *αποστειλω* we have consulted *New Testament Manuscripts: Mark*, ed. R. Swanson, which is more accurate in these two instances. **5073** differs from the printed text of NA²⁷ in each of the four known variation units. Also noteworthy is the agreement in three of the four variation units, excluding the singular reading *ιη(co)υ του χρ(ιcτo)υ*, between **5073** and Codex Koridethi (Θ), a ninth-century manuscript of the gospels, which in Mark resembles the type of text used by Eusebius and Origen in Caesarea. See B. Metzger and B. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament* (2005) 83.

↓

<i>αναγνωτι την αρχην του ευαγ'γγελιου και ιδε</i>	
<i>αρχη του ευαγ'γγελιου ιη̅υ του χρ̅υ</i>	Mk I. 1
<i>ως γεγραπται εν ησαϊα τω προφητη</i>	2
<i>ιδου αποστειλω τον αγ'γελον μου</i>	
5 <i>προ προσωπου σου ος κατασκευασει</i>	

‘Read the beginning of the gospel, and see:
 “The beginning of the gospel of Jesus the Christ.
 As it is written in Isaiah the prophet:
 ‘Behold, I will send my angel
 before you, who will prepare . . .’”

1 *αναγνωτι*: read *αναγνωθι*. For other examples of interchange between *θ* and *τ* in the papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 92.

την αρχην του ευαγ'γγελιου: In addition to Mark 1:1 and Philippians 4:15, where Paul employs it to refer to his early preaching in Philippi (for a similar usage, see 1 Clement 47:2), this expression is found in PSI IX 1041, a Christian letter from Oxyrhynchus dated to the third/fourth centuries, in which a certain Leon is called ‘a catechumen in the beginning of the gospel’ (*Λέωνα κατηχούμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ευαγγελίου*). M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* (1968) 155, suggests that the expression denotes a catechumen in the first stage of preparation for baptism. Noting the parallel expression in Mark 1:1, others have found in this designation evidence for the reading of Mark and perhaps other gospels in catechetical programs. See Macquarie University’s *Papyri from the Rise of Christianity* project at www.anchist.mq.edu.au/doccentre/PCE67.pdf. More in keeping with the sense here, however, are the many instances in which this expression is used to introduce a quote from the beginning of a gospel (see e.g. Eusebius, *Against Marcellus* 2.2.11; *Ecc. Theology* 1.18.1, 1.20.48, 2.11.3, 2.25.1; Athanasius, *Oration IV Against the Arians* 19.4; Marcellus, *On the Incarnation and Against the Arians* 1005.34; Origen, *Commentary on John* 1.3.17; John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Matthew* 58.631.57).

και ιδε: This second imperative accords with the Marcan style (rather than *ιδου* in parallel passages in the other synoptics), and might suggest that the scribe of **5073** knew the gospel text well. Mark regularly uses *ιδε* to draw attention to something (Mk 2:24, 11:21, 13:1, 13:21, 16:6), even at the expense of its fundamental meaning (15:4). In **5073**, the imperative introduces the biblical quotation in dramatic fashion.

2 *ιη(co)υ του χρ(ιcτο)υ*: *ιηcου χριcτου* **Σ*** **Θ** 28. *l* 2211 *pc* sa^{ms}; Or | *ι. χρ. υιου θεου* **Σ**¹ B D L W 2427 *pc* (but *του θεου* in A *f*¹.13 33 **℞**) latt sy co; Ir^{lat} (NA²⁷) | *ι. χρ. υιου του κυριου* 1241.

ιη(co)υ του χρ(ιcτο)υ: The genitive definite article *του* is inserted before *χρ(ιcτο)υ*. The article transforms ‘Jesus Christ’, a proper name into ‘Jesus, the Christ’, an assertion of messianic identity, and better captures the sense of the Hebrew and Aramaic used among the earliest Jesus followers. But despite several predicate constructions in which ‘Jesus’ is identified as ‘the Christ’ (John 20:31, 1 John 2:22, 5:1), ‘Jesus, the Christ’ is never used in the New Testament, though a similar variant appears in several manuscripts (**Σ**² C D W **℞** lat sy^h sa^{ms} mae bo) at Matthew 16:20, which reads . . . *αὐτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός*. Only in the second and third centuries, among writers such as Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and Origen, does the article appear. In these sources it serves as a reminder of Jesus’ messianic identity, a reminder that functioned both as a contentious claim to Jewish interlocutors who remained unconvinced that Jesus was indeed the Christ (e.g. Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 63; Ignatius, *Eph.* 18), and as a doctrinal distinction that helped Christianity articulate its ‘complicated’ relationship with Judaism to pagan onlookers (e.g. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.26). The title flourishes in the writings of Eusebius in the early fourth century, about the time our manuscript was copied (e.g. *EH* 1.5.2, 1.10.1). In summary, we should not regard this singular reading as a newly discovered candidate for the ‘original’ text of Mark 1:1, but as a rich expression of later Christian nomenclature born out of struggles for self-definition.

3 *ωc*: so A D G^{supp} M U W Π^c 118 *f*¹³ 2 28 579 1424 **℞** | *καθωc* all other MSS (NA²⁷).

εν ηcαια τω προφητη: so D **Θ** *f*¹ 700. *l* 844. *l* 2211 *pc*; Ir Or^{pt} Eriph | *εν τω ηcαια τω προφητη* **Σ** B L Δ 33. 565. 892. 1241. 2427 *al* sy^{p,hmg} co; Or^{pt} (NA²⁷) | *εν τοιc προφηταιc* A W *f*¹³ **℞** vg^{ms} sy^h (bo^{mss}); Ir^{lat}.

4 *αποcτελω*: so **Θ** | *αποcτελλω* B D 28*. 565. 2427. *l* 2211 *pc* lat co; Ir^{lat} (NA²⁷) | *εγω αποcτελω* **Σ** | *εγω αποcτελλω* A G^{supp} K L M P U W Δ II *f*^{1,13} 33 **℞** vg^{cl} sy^h sa^{ms} bo^{ms}; Or Eus.

5 *καταcκευαcει*: The text stops short of the expected phrase, *την οδον cου*, and the enlarged final *ι* indicates that the scribe intended to end his text at this point. This abrupt ending probably results from copying the first few lines from Mark, just enough of the ‘beginning of the gospel’ for phylacteric purposes, and should not be considered a variation unit. The final phrase also would have extended beyond the end of the relatively uniform column formed by lines 2–5.

G. S. SMITH
A. E. BERNHARD

5074. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *FESTAL LETTERS* 28, *PG* 77.944C–949A

115/97

22.6 × 14.1 cm

Late sixth / early seventh century
Plate XIII

A fragment from a papyrus roll with the lower part of two columns and bottom margin. The writing runs along the fibres on the back of an unidentified text, also written along the fibres at an angle of 90° to the front. The roll was cut along the *kollesis*, which survives (col. i), to form a sheet for the text on the back. The right part of 11 lines from col. i and the left part of 12 lines from col. ii are preserved, with an intercolumnium of 2.5 cm and a bottom margin of 3.9 cm. The average line length in col. i is 36 letters or 24 cm and in col. ii 34 letters or 22.5 cm. The column height cannot be reconstructed, owing to a problem with the continuity of the text, possibly suggesting an abbreviated version of the homily. The considerable length

of lines points to tall columns (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 125). Luxurious rolls from this period as large as 45 cm × 5 m survive (*GBEBP* 52a–b and P. Col. VIII 192, the latter probably exceeding 52.5 cm in height, considering that it is broken at the top). If **5074** was of similar dimensions, the column could be up to 55 lines or 49 cm in height, but was probably less than this. Depending on the column height, the roll contained one or two homilies and was 3–4 m long. On the use of a roll rather than codex, see ii 1–2 n.

The text is written in a fully developed sloping majuscule in brown ink. Letters are large, drawn by a competent scribe. A number of features indicate a date as late as the sixth/seventh century. There is marked contrast between the thick and thinner strokes; the verticals of ρ and γ extend below the base line, a feature more prominent in col. i; τ and ρ have decorative dots on their horizontals. These features are found, for example, in *GBEBP* 39a, though decoration is not as pronounced in **5074**. The narrow letters ε θ ο c are pointed at the bottom left, a practice starting in the fifth but typical throughout the sixth and into the seventh century (*GBEBP* 17a, 28a, 45a, 46b). The oversized φ, breaking bilinearity, is prominent in the seventh century (cf. *GBEBP* 46b–c). Letters are slanting to the right, but col. ii (and probably col. i judging from the right margin) is tilting to the left.

High point in i 9 and rough breathing in i 11 by the same hand. Diaereses and acute accent in i 11 are all due to the same hand as the text proper. Diaereses are written over all initial upsilons (ii 9, 10, 11, and 12). Elision occurs but is not marked in i 5. The only *nomen sacrum* is $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ in ii 5. Iota adscript is not written in i 3, 5 and 10. Quotations are marked with a *diple* in the margin at the beginning of ii 2–5 and 7–11, and possibly also ii 1, 3.

Festal Letter 28 is not preserved on any other papyrus. The lack of a modern critical edition impedes the task of collation with the medieval manuscripts. The text may be compared with Aubert's 1634 edition (vol. 2 ii), reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. The papyrus disagrees with the printed text in the one instance where Aubert reports a variant reading (i 10–11). The testimony of the papyrus is of particular value because we are otherwise dependent for the text on A (Ottobianus gr. 448, twelfth century), from which all other copies derive. We are most grateful to M. Bernard Meunier for making available to us the *apparatus criticus* prepared by the late W. H. Burns for the *Sources chrétiennes* series. For Burns's account of the history of the text, see P. Évieux et al., *Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Lettres Festales I–VI* (1991) 119–33. The supplements printed are taken from Burns's reports of A except where noted, and the sigla are his. A minor divergence in this copy at i 6 and a major divergence at ii 1–2 are mentioned in the commentary, together with further possible divergences in the lost portions of i 6 and 9.

Col. i

c.25] η μεν [γαρ 944G
των αζυμων εορτη προφασιν εχε]ι των ε[ξ αι
ματος ιηλ την λυτρωσιν οτε και ε]ν τω πρω[τω
καθ εβραιουσ μηνι τον αμνον ιερ]ευσαντες εις
5 τυπον χυ και αζυμους αρτους εσθιο]ντες επ αυτω
της σκαιοτητος των αιγυπτιων απελ]υσαντο τ[ο] ζυ
γον και της ασυνηθουσ θητειας] το πικρον κ[αι
δυσοιστον αχθος αποπεμψαμενοι] των περι γην
και πλινθειαν απηλλαττοντο πον]ων· και τυραν
10 νικης ωμοτητος αποτρεχοντε]ς ελευθερω φρο
νηματι θεω λατρευειν εσπουδαζ]ον· η δε γε τω[ν

4-5 At line-end, offsets in blacker ink.

6 For τ[ο], Migne prints τὸν, and Burns notes no variation in the manuscripts. Of ζ, a cross-bar level with the tops of the letters is preserved. The transmitted text of the portion lost at the line-beginning is given above but seems too long for the space available by about two average letter-widths, and one may wonder whether (e.g.) the preverb of ἀπελύσαντο was omitted in this copy.

9 To judge by the space, the papyrus probably had the correct reading ἀπηλλάττοντο, with Burns's b family and modern editors, where A gives ἀπηλλάττο (*sic*).

10-11 φρο[νηματι: so A. Editors have adopted θελήματι, the reading of I, in which φρονήματι is a marginal variant.

11 The breathing hangs from the upsilon, and the accent appears to grow out of the shank of the first rho in the line above.

Col. ii

> . μ. [945A(?)
παντ[c.15 ουκουν καθα φησιν 948D/949A
> ο θεσπ[εσι]ος [μελωδος ανδριζεςθε και κραται
> ουσθω η [κ]αρδια [υμων παντες οι ελπίζοντες
5 > επι κν· τινα δε τ[ροπον και τουτο κατορθωσω
μεν διαδειξει λ[εγων ο χυ μαθητης διο αναζω
> αμενοι τας οσφυ]ακ της διανοιας υμων νη
> φοντες τελειως ελ[πισατε επι την φερομε
> νην υμιν χ[αριν εν απο]καλ[υψει ιυ χυ ως τε
10 > κνα υπακοης[.] μη συσχημ[ατιζομενοι ταις
> προτερον εν τη αγνοια υμ]ων επιθυμιας
αλλα κατα τον καλεσαντα υ]μας αγιον και αυτοι

1 > . μ. [: Trace in the left margin compatible with a *diple* as in the following lines, but not certain to be ink. An upright and trace from a connecting horizontal resting on the line, at a 90° angle with each other, somewhat pointed, and therefore compatible with ε θ ο c. The right upright of μ connects to the left upright of the next letter, which could be ε, η, ι, λ, ν, ο, or π.

1-2 The letters and traces preserved here do not agree with the text preceding 948D in the medieval tradition. There is also a problem of space: 140 lines are required between i 11 and ii 3 to fit the text between 944C and 948D. Assuming a maximum number of 55 lines per column, **5074** is short by 100-120 lines, perhaps transmitting an abbreviated version of the homily or involving a very large lacuna. In either case, the missing lines in ii probably contain part or parts of the text known from the medieval manuscripts. The possibilities can be narrowed down by eliminating the cases where a clause would not have been completed shortly after παντ[in ii 2. Assuming that ουκουν καθα φησιν, i.e. the beginning of the clause in ii 3, was copied intact in ii 2 and that no alteration took place to smooth the transition, 20 letters are needed to complete ii 2. The only suitable text is that of 945A, and ii 1-2 can be restored as:

παλαι κεχρη
 σμω[δημενα μετακεχωρηκεν εις αληθειαν
 παντ[α γαρ εν Χω καινα ουκουν καθα φησιν

(For *κεχρησμοδημένα*, A has -χρημ- (at the end of a page), but I (mg.) and M have the correct spelling, as in Migne.) The causal clause ἐπειδὴ παρώχρηκεν ἢ τοῦ νόμου κιά, καὶ τὰ τυπικῶς τοῖς πάλαι κεχρησμοδημένα μετακεχώρηκεν εἰς ἀλήθειαν, πάντα γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ καινά is then to be taken with what precedes and not (as in Migne's text) as the beginning of a new sentence in asyndeton. In terms of meaning, this would represent a suitable breaking point, because it is the last sentence before introducing a new discussion on τύπος. The beginning of ii 1 also marks a new topic, following (in the medieval tradition) the discussion on gender. If this conjecture holds and the text runs uninterrupted from i 11 to ii 1, then there are 22 lines in between, resulting in a column of 34 lines and a roll 38-40 cm high and 3.2 m in length, if it contained a single homily.

There are other possibilities raised by the hypothesis of an abbreviated version: perhaps there are several small portions of text omitted rather than a single large chunk, or ii 1-2 (or part thereof) is a paraphrase of a portion of text, serving as a transitional phrase connecting the two excerpts and therefore not found in the tradition of the full text. Alternatively, ii 1-2 could be transmitting a new reading, always within the hypothesis of an abbreviated version. If this is the case, it is not possible to reconstruct ii 1-2.

A hypothesis explaining the discontinuity in the text is that the papyrus has a sizeable lacuna due to its scribe or its exemplar, but the text involved is far longer than an accidental omission could justify. One may also consider the possibility of a missing folio in the exemplar, since the amount of text missing is roughly the equivalent of a large codex folio, or a bifolio from a codex of a smaller format. This hypothesis requires a scribe to have copied from a codex onto a roll, and there is no evidence for such a practice. However, it would not be surprising if the exemplar was a codex. This would have been the norm for a patristic text in the sixth century. Aland-Rosenbaum, *Repertorium II* p. cxvi, report that the only patristic texts that are certain to have been written on papyrus rolls in all centuries are Paschal Letters. All other known manuscripts of homilies copied after the fifth century are certain to be codices, and only one from the fourth/fifth century is possibly a roll. In all periods, the vast majority of homilies are copied on codices. If the surviving evidence reflects reality at all, then it would not be surprising for the scribe to be copying from a codex. Copying from a codex to a roll is probably unusual, but a late patristic papyrus roll is a rarity in its own right, regardless of the exemplar. Perhaps the Festal Letter of **5074** was not intended for private use but for delivery on a special occasion, in this case at Easter. In the period concerned, the roll was possibly used to convey a grand, archaizing impression of formality, as in Easter letters typically written on luxurious rolls.

3–5 ἀνδριζεσθε . . . κ(ύριο)ν. The quotation from Psalm 30:25 agrees with the majority of the Septuagint manuscripts against S, which has τὸν κ̄ν.

3 The trace in the margin may be offset rather than part of a *diple*.

6–12 διο . . . ὑ[μας]. For this quotation from I Peter 1:13–16 the papyrus text corresponds to that of A. However, there are variants in the New Testament tradition at 1:14 in our text at 11 ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμ[ων]: 81 and 1243pc omit the article, 1241 the whole phrase, and Ψ⁷² has only ἀγνοία υμῶν.

10 The letter-space before μῆ may have held a mark of punctuation, as at i 9, 11.

M. KONSTANTINIDOU

II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

5075. LYRIC DIALOGUE FROM DRAMA

18 2B.66/F(6)c

6.8 × 11.5 cm

First/second century
Plate III

A single fragment with the ends of eleven lines of verse written across the fibres. On the other side is what E. G. Turner, who first examined the text, described as 'a register of money payments, tiny quick hand, parts of two columns'; the verses are in 'medium sized, round, upright mannered capitals' which he assigned provisionally to the late first or early second century AD. A useful comparison for the handwriting is VIII **1083** + XXVII **2453** (Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*² no. 28), Sophocles, assigned to the second century. There, the contrast between heavy and light strokes, the oblique pen angle, and the prominent serifs that are seen in our fragment are noticeably accentuated, the rounded curves having developed into ovals, with characteristically narrow ε θ ο c. A closer parallel is the tragic fragment first published by Lobel in *Essays in Honour of Gilbert Murray* (1936), with a plate (M-P³ 1710), assigned by Lobel to the first century; probably earlier still, and assigned by Turner to the first half of the first century, is the main hand of XXXIII **2654**, Menander, *Karchedonios*, *GMAW*² no. 41, with signs of similar calligraphic trends. Unlike that hand, and judging by the upright of his ρ, curved or serifed and strictly on line, our copyist affects a bilinear style (there is no φ or † present), though he tends to favour the upper diagonals of α and Δ, which sometimes project slightly. Punctuation is by single high point, written at the stage of copying, with dicolon in mid-line and at the end in 4 to mark change of speaker (there are no line-beginnings to show paragraphi). Elision in 8 (perhaps in 5) is unmarked. 10 has a marginal note to show that a reading has been checked. In a space left below that line, in a similar small sloping hand, and apparently marked off from the text by horizontal lines, is what I take to be the remains of χοροῦ μελοῦ, indicating a lyric not preserved with the text. Below this heading, at the right, there is a strip of blank papyrus about 2 cm wide × 4 cm, most likely indicating a lavish lower margin in keeping with the calligraphic quality of the script. Lines as long as 2, 4, 6, 8, and 9-11 would be expected to show ends in it of 2-3 letters; either therefore a system of shorter lines followed, or what survives represents the foot of a column.

The signs are of a carefully written professional copy of a fourth-century BC play that had survived, or been revived, to be part of the cultural repertory at the end of the first century or the early second AD. With the lack (so far as I can find) of any external evidence to help us, its nature and identity remain open to conjecture.

The language is compatible with tragedy, though an elevated mode of comedy

is perhaps not ruled out *a priori*. In line 4, a father says goodbye to his son, who says goodbye in return. The part-marking at line-end suggests that the son has no more to say, and departs. If so, either the father speaks the remaining lines, or else he too departs, possibly going inside, and the lines are spoken by a third party who has been witness to the scene. There is no sign of any more elaborate subdivision. The reference to οὐτος ὁ παῖς (9) seems more likely to be said by the father of his son, now offstage, than by anyone else. The reference to some kind of death (if it is that) in 7 would be consistent with a departure for battle. One looks, in other words, for a plot that features the motif of the soldier's farewell, recalling, however distantly, the parting of Hector and Andromache in *Iliad* 6; but also enough in the mind of audiences to be deployed for comic effect by Menander at *Samia* 687 ff. In our piece, nothing of the general tone or the detail points positively towards comedy, and it is therefore to post-classical tragedy that we should look. That is, for all we know, where a lyric dialogue such as the present one would be most likely at home.

As to metre, the surviving line-ends show an apparently uniform double-short pattern (line 3 is much shorter, for whatever reason, than the rest); see the more detailed analysis below.

This heading [ΧΟΡΟΥ] ΜΕΛΟΣ following line 11 (and set off by decorative strokes) is of literary interest as a sign that the play is post-classical (hence the dating to the fourth century BC above). It also bears on the reconstruction of the text. If the heading was centred, as we should expect, the central vertical axis of the column should come approximately at ον|ον in 10. That would suggest a column of some 8 cm breadth, perhaps more if the words ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ were widely spaced apart, and—without prejudice to consideration of possible metrical patterns—a loss of about ten letters, give or take, before the longer endings that survive.

No overlap with a previously known text has so far been observed. It is perhaps useful to recall the *Hector* of the younger Astydamas, which is represented in papyrus fragments, for which see *TrGF* 1² 60 F **1h, **1i, **2a, and, it seems, by the *Hector proficiscens* of Naevius, which may have been based on it: see further O. Touchefeu, in *LIMC* 4.1 (1988) 482–98.

The present edition, with certain revisions made since, was presented to the Working Party on New Greek Texts from Oxyrhynchus held at the British Academy on 24 June 2009.

]. []. [
	]. [ ] . ε [. .] δ . . ν [		]. [ ] . ε [. .] δ . . ν [
	] . αρασοι·		] παρὰ σοί·
	] . κυ:καικυπατερ:		χαίρ]ε κύ. (B) καὶ κύ, πάτερ.
5	] . ἔωσδελεγε .	5	-] γ'· ἔωσ δὲ λέγει
	] οιδεν· ακηκοεγαρ		] οἶδεν· ἀκήκοε γάρ
	] . νατονδηαρα		-] ανατον δὴ ἄρα
	] . ριονπαρεμου·		-] . ριον παρ' ἔμου·
	] μοιουτοσοπαις		] μοι οὔτος ὁ παῖς
10	] ςβυτερος· δεομαι	10	πρε] ςβύτερος· δέομαι
	] . ονονωιμαχομαι· ο ^υ		] . ονον ὦι μάχομαι· οὔ(τωσ)
] _____] _____
	] . ελος		[ΧΟΡΟΥ] ΜΕΛΟΣ

Metre: At first sight, the metrical pattern might be taken as anapaestic dimeters, as in 11, for example, ~ ~ - ~ ~ -]ονον ᾗ μάχομαι. Against that is the lack of the normal median diaeresis apparent in 4, 6, and 10, together with the correction in both 7 and 9, given that correction, 'so frequent in the Homeric hexameter, is more common in dactyls than in any other lyric metre' (A. M. Dale, *Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (21968) 25–6). In fact, in so far as they are extant or credibly restorable, all the line-ends either present, or would fit, the pattern of a dactylic hemiepes; and this time, at any rate in 4–11, a word break before that pattern is either present (4, 6, 10) or possible. Accordingly, line 3, abnormally short, may conceivably have been a single hemiepes on its own, with the remaining lines having a first half of matching metrical as well as physical length. It should be borne in mind that a shorter line might be inset (and a longer line than the norm correspondingly outset) by a measure of about one or two letters.

1–11 beginnings: I have not found parallels in surviving drama that would determine what the first half of these lines was, and the use of them stichically for a lyric dialogue may therefore be the author's own innovation. Continuous elegiac pentameters, with the first half equivalent to the second, would be a challenge to the restorer, in view of the limited space available for supplements (assuming our approximation from the presumed χοροῦ μέλος is valid) as well as from the varying requirements of the different endings. It may therefore be (though this suggestion is not without its difficulties) that the composer adopted a shorter metrical unit, such as the dactylic tetrameter catalectic, as in A. *Eum.* 1042 λαμπάδι τερόμενοι καθ' ὁδόν (= 1046) or Ar. *Frogs* 879, ἔλθεται ἐπιψόμενοι δύναμιν, and 881 (L. P. E. Parker, *Songs of Aristophanes* 48–55, makes a survey of dactylic lyrics in tragedy and comedy). This might lead to such restorations as 4 παῖ, παῖ, χαίρ]ε κύ, 7 δυσθάνατον θ]άνατον and, 9–10 νῦν δ' ἀπόλωλέ] μοι οὔτος ὁ παῖς / [οὔμὸς ὁ πρε]ςβύτερος. Here, however, we enter the realm of what Denys Page, in *Greek Literary Papyri* (1950) viii, well describes as private poetry.

2 A dot of ink above]π in 3 may be from a descender, φ or ψ, in 2. At the end, -ειν, perhaps ἐ[πι]δεδῆν, can be thought of.

4 καὶ κύ responding to χαίρε, as at Menander, *Dis Ex.* 104: see ad loc. in LXIV 4407; but here, near the end of an episode, χαίρε is a word of farewell, as for instance at Eur. *Hipp.* 1453, not a greeting.

5], traces of a vertical and of a high horizontal (? τ, ρ). After the stop, apparently ε (like that

of δε) rather than c. At the end, traces of a vertical on twisted fibres, presumably ι; probably not enough ink for ν, to verify δ' ἔλεγεν.

7 Upper part of down-sloping diagonal suggests λ, as for θάνατον, or a derivative: ἀθάνατον, with its regular long first syllable; or δυσθάνατον, εὐθάνατον.

δὴ ἄρα with correption, as possibly in Homeric δὴ ἔπειτα, for example at *Il.* 15.163, *Od.* 17.185; but in the collocation δὴ ἄρα in Homer, as at *Od.* 7.18 and elsewhere, the long quantity of δὴ is maintained, just as it appears in the metrical variant δὴ ῥα.

9]μ, not c or ι, is given by a descender with curving foot; whence μοι or ε]μοί, with correption.

11] , trace of a high ink: (?)Γ or τ (but does not join ο); possibly π; hardly μ. The marginal note, equivalent to *sic*, indicates that a doubtful reading has been checked against a master copy or a commentary and found to conform: see Turner–Parsons *GMAH*² 15 and n. 78; for more, and more elaborate, examples of collation, see William A. Johnson, 'The Ancient Book', in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009) 256–81 at 274–5.

After 11, with its high stop at the end, another line of text may possibly have followed (a short one, if so). I assume, rather, a blank space; then, in a hand smaller and less formal than the text hand, there appear letters representing μέλος, with a line above (and, very likely, from parallels, another line below, where the papyrus is broken away). χοροῦ μέλος, as restored here, is a heading for choral performance not recorded as part of the text, as in P. Hib. II 174.10 (? Astydamos, *Hector*): see the editor's note, and with it Handley, 'ΧΟΡΟΥ in the *Plutus*', *CQ* n.s. 3 (1953) 58 n. 3 (since that note was written, many more examples of the simple χοροῦ of Comedy are available from papyri of *Dyskolos*, *Misoumenos*, *Sikyonios*, and other rediscovered Menander).

E. W. HANDLEY

5076. OLD COMEDY

10 1B.169/F(d–e)

fr. 1 6.5 × 7 cm

Second/third century
Plate III

Fragment 1 is a scrap from the foot of a column, with a preserved lower margin of 2.5 cm. It has the beginnings of lines of verse; fr. 2 and 4 have a few letters from mid-line; fr. 3 gives more beginnings, one with a paragraphus to indicate change of speaker in or after the line; nowhere do there seem to be possible joins. In all, 25 verses are represented (9 + 5 + 2 + 9), written in a medium-sized Biblical Majuscule, very like that of the fragments of New Comedy published together as LXII 4302. As there, a minor variation can be seen in the breadth of stroke, fr. 2, 3, and 4 being written with a slightly finer pen than fr. 1: the difference seems hardly enough to suggest that the group does not belong together. See further on this style G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (1967) and P. Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica* (2005). Punctuation by a single high point is present in fr. 4.3; elision is marked by diastole in fr. 1.4 and 9 and fr. 4.8; fr. 3 has a paragraphus for change of speaker, and another lectional aid to be noted there.

The text is identified as Comedy by the appearance of two slave names, Sosias and Parmenon (the latter incomplete) in fr. 1.8. The mixture of metrical patterns points to a lyric passage of Old Comedy, rather than to Later Comedy; and though

Sosias and Parmenon might seem most at home in the age of Menander, they are present in Aristophanes too: see *Wasps* 78 and 136, and *Eccl.* 868. Fr. 4 is in a single-short metre, iambic trimeter or possibly trochaic tetrameter; nothing certain can be said about the metre of the two smaller scraps. In fr. 1, double-short patterns are present in lines 2, 5, and 9—clearest in 9, with ἐντὸς ἐτῶν δ' ὀλίγ[ων]; in spite of more damage, 5 appears to correspond, less certainly 2. Single-short is guaranteed by 8, *Ῥωσίαν, κτλ.*, and, given an element of conjecture, is recognizable elsewhere, as in 6, where μὰ [τὸν] θεὸν τὸν [looks unarguable. In 3, there is blank papyrus at the end of a line that is shorter than its neighbours. All this suggests what might be described as a comic version of dactylo-epitrites, written out in short units in such a way that the surviving lines may not be far from complete. A sketch for a restoration can be proposed on that basis. With more detailed comments to follow below, I refer here to the choral odes in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 273 ff., and other passages considered by L. P. E. Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* (1997) 85–90, and in her following detailed analyses.

The chorus (for such it should be) is here singing of a spacious place, [ε]ψ[ρ]ύ-*χορον*, fr. 1.1–2, possibly (though there are other ways to restore) 'a great city', π[όλις] . . . μεγά[λην]. The place is in some sense connected with prosperity, unless -ολβ- in 3 can be explained away; and the speakers themselves are involved, as witness ἡμῶ[ν] in 4, where a recognizable future infinitive accompanied by ποτ(έ) shows that they are referring to something that will happen one day, and not to the here and now. Going on, the essence appears to be that the chorus swears not to convey X there (X being 'the Akamantid' of 5) but Sosias, son of Parmenon; 'and within a few years . . .'. This is, then, a chorus expressing its power to favour a friend and disfavour an enemy, as fifth-century choruses commonly do; and the favour will consist of a passage to an ideally prosperous place with a future to it. That would put the play in the class of Ideal World comedies, as represented in different forms by Aristophanes' *Birds* and by a number of lost plays, of which there is recent discussion and helpful bibliography in two successive papers in David Harvey and John Wilkins (edd.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes* (2000), namely Paola Ceccarelli, 'Life among the Savages and Escape from the City in Old Comedy' at 453–71, and Ian Ruffell, 'The World Turned Upside Down: Utopia and Utopianism in the Fragments of Old Comedy' at 473–506; see also M. Farioli, *Mundus alter: Utopie e distopie nella commedia antica* (Milan 2001), reviewed by Wilkins in *CR* 58 (2008) 28–9. It is for consideration whether scrutiny of the detail will allow one to go that far or any way further in classifying this new text. The vocabulary of fr. 4, so far as it can be made out, is that of a political denunciation. Line 6 refers to voting; line 8, probably, to the office of strategos; lines 2 and 4 to outrageous and ostentatious behavior; and line 8 to theft, the ever-recurrent accusation of financial misdealing. One thinks above all of Aristophanes' portrayal of Cleon in *Knights* and elsewhere: though there is no visible clue to the victim's identity, he is one of those who must qualify.

If the allusion in ‘the Akamantid’ is to Pericles, perhaps without rival as the outstanding member of that phyle, the play should date from before his death in 429 BC; and so Cratinus’ *Ploutoi* comes into question, with its chorus of *δαίμονες πλουτοδόται*, as we hear of them from Hesiod, *Works and Days* 121 ff. This is a play already known from papyrus fragments as well as from quotations; on the basis of a reference in Athenaeus (6. 267E, quoted under fr. 176 KA) it is commonly held to be the earliest of the ‘Ideal World’ comedies, and is assigned to one of the festivals of Winter/Spring 429. The chorus visits Athens to inspect the state of the democracy (fr. 171.22–6 KA); and there survive, in trochaic tetrameters, the preliminaries of an enquiry into Hagnon and Nicias (essentially, fr. 171.60–76 KA). The kinship of motif, and perhaps of metre with our fr. 2 is striking. Nonetheless, Cratinus’ *Ploutoi* offers no direct link with the present text; nor (so far as I can discover) do the other remains of fifth-century comedy. In any case, the chronology of the end of Pericles’ career and the production date of *Ploutoi* remain debatable. See, in general, W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens* (1971), especially 161–98 and 205, with the recent discussions by M. Wright, ‘The Art of Comedy and the Trojan War’, *CQ* 57 (2007) 412–31 and E. Bakola, *Cratinus and the Art of Comedy* (2010), especially 208–20, with a text of the papyrus fragments of *Ploutoi* (171 KA) at Appendix 3.

A shorter version of this edition was presented at the Archimedes Palimpsest Colloquium in Budapest, 18–22 September 2007; it is published in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae* 48 (2008) 49–54.

Fr. 1

<p>[.] . . χ . . [. . .] . . [. .] υ [. .] υ χορονομεγα[. .] ολβα[. .] ινω 5 τ ο ν τ [. .] κ α μ α ν τ ι δ [. .] ε ο ν τ ο ν [. .] ε πο ρ θ μ ε υ σ [. .] ω σ ι α ν τ ο ν πα ρ μ ε [. .] ε ν τ ο σ ε τ ω ν δ ' ο λ ι γ [. .]</p>	<p>[.] . . χ . . [γὰρ] ρ π [όλιυ [ε]ύ[ρ]ύχορον μεγά[λην [ε]ύολβα [κ]είνω<ι> δ' ἄρξε[ι]ν ποθ' ἡμῶ[ν παρόντων· 5 τόν τ['] Ἄκαμαντίδ[ος οὐ μὰ [τὸν] θεὸν τὸν [ἐνθαδί τόν[δ]ε πορθμεύς[ω ποτ' ἀλλὰ Ἐωσίαν τὸν Παρμέ[νωνος· ἐντὸς ἐτῶν δ' ὀλίγ[ων</p>
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1] . . χ . . [, a low trace of ink, then down-sloping diagonal, followed, apparently, by crossing diagonal for x; then trace of a leftward curve and foot of an upright: perhaps therefore *λαχών*] . . [, a long descender, ρ, γ, φ, ψ; then two verticals with horizontal over, as for π: (?) [γὰρ] ρ π[or [πὰ] ρ π[3 [. .] , traces of a vertical, hardly γ, possibly [ε]υ a narrow gap after ολβ, [ι] possible] . . , particles of high and low ink would suit ε or c 4 first, probably Δ, with a trace of a horizontal on the line, not π] . . , first a vertical, then top of a vertical and horizontal as for upper corner of π, the rest of it damaged

Fr. 2

· · ·
]λοῦδε[
]ιαν[]..[
]ωγ[.]κ[
]·εωτρ[
 5]..[

Fr. 3

· · ·
 ? ἄλ]λο δεῖ[νόν
 ?]ι ἀν[α]ξί[-
 ? Λακ]ων[ι]κ[-
 ?]·έω τρ[-
 5]..[

· · ·
 τῖς[
τακ[-
 · · ·

Fr. 2

1]·[, remains of a vertical
 5]·[, a particle of ink on the line

2 alternatively -]ιαν εἶ[-

3 alternatively -]ων ζκ[-

Fr. 4

· · ·
]ετιζαν[.]..[
]ελαίνων[
]·ενος·διατ[
]·κορωνιά·[
 5]πωγιγν·[
]ειροτονη[
]υζινδεκα[
]·ηγης'ου·[
]κλεπτων[

· · ·
 ἀς]ελαίνων[
]·κορωνιά·[
 5]ειροτονη[
] κλέπτων [

1]·[, obscured by encrustation, the second perhaps an upright 3]·[, the edge of an upright
 4]·[, an upright], a speck on the edge level with the tops of the letters 5]·[,
 ξ or ο 7 ζ or ε 8]·[, the end of a cross-bar level with the tops of the letters], specks
 on the edge, suggesting an upright

Fr. 1

‘... broad ... great ... prosperous, so to rule one day in our presence. And the man of Akamantis, by the god present here, I shall never bring there, but Sosias, son of Parmenon. And within a few years ...’

Metre: Like the reconstruction itself, the following description must be taken as tentative.

1 At line-end, the scansion may have been either ∨ - or ∨ - - before the double-short unit that follows; the latter is presented in 3, and assumed here in 4 and 8.

2 See above: two dactyls, presumably from a hemiepes with the last element missing, here taken as the metrical unit D of dactyloepitrite, as in 9; and also in 5, where the last two elements are lost, but the sense appears to continue plausibly into 6.

3 ∨ - ∨ - ∨ -: (?) ∨ e ∨ -; -δ(ε) of ᾠδ(ε) is written at the beginning of 4.

4 As restored, - e e -.

6 As restored, ~ E (= ia. dim).

7-8 As restored, E - twice (= 2 troch. dim.), 7 ending with short open syllable, 8 with short closed syllable; presumably composed as one long unit, with period-end marked by *brevis in longo* at sense pause.

9 D = dactylic hemiepes.

1-4 Reconstruction involves guesswork. Missing are nouns for *εὐχόροις*, as read in 2, as well as for the other adjectives represented by *μεγά-* and by *ὀλβίαειν*, 3; further, a construction is needed for the future infinitive *ἄρξειν* in 4. Just possibly, that construction is provided if we read *λαχών* in 1 ('bound . . . to rule one day'), with the accompanying phrases giving the circumstances. *ἡμῶν* may then be absolute, supplemented by *παρόντων* (or perhaps *διδόντων*, *παρέντων*). *εὐρύχορος*, *μέγας*, and *ὀλβιος* are all praise-words of prestigious places (see LSJ svv.); a guess to account for them might be [πὰ]ρ π[λατεΐαις] | [ε]ὐ[ρ]υχόροις, *μεγά*[λαις τ' ἀγοραῖς] | [ε]ὐ ὀλβ[ί]α[ι]ς, 'amongst wide ways and grand, prosperous market-places'. The subject should be Sosias, son of Parmenon (8), or if not, another hero. One recalls that Peisetairos, in Aristophanes' *Birds*, ended up as ruler of the City of the Sky, and husband of Basileia, daughter of Zeus: he is heralded as *τύραννος* (1708).

2 *εὐρύχορος* is, according to LSJ, 'Prop. with broad dancing places, cf. *χορός*; then a conventional epithet, perh. connected by poets with *χώρος*': of cities, e.g. Lacedaimon, and places, e.g. Hellas, from Homer onwards: note especially Pindar, *Pyth.* 8.54f. *ἀφίξεται . . . Ἄβαντος εὐρυχόρου ἀγνιάς. μεγά*[λαις . . . ὀλβ[ί]α[ι]ς assumes two adjectives on one noun, as, for instance, Pindar, *Ol.* 1.10f. *ἔς ἀφνεάν ἰκομένους μάκαιραν Ἰέρωνος ἔστιαν*. Note also Hom. *Epiqr.* 14.5 *πολλὰ μὲν εἰν ἀγορῇ πωλεύμενα, πολλὰ δ' ἀγνιάς*. The place in question may well be entirely imaginary, but it is possible to wonder if it does not in some way allude to Thurii, founded on the site of Sybaris in South Italy with strong Athenian sponsorship in 444/3 BC, and with an ambitious town plan by Hippodamus of Miletus.

5 People are sometimes alluded to by the name of their nation, city, or (if Athenian) deme, as with Hagnon, son of Nicias, of Steiria, in Cratinus, *Ploutoi* 171.678 KA *τοῦ Στεριῶς γὰρ εὐκτὰ τὸν [βίον σκοπεῖν] / ὄν καλοῦς Ἀγνώνα νῦν*; there is a similar reference to 'the man from Steiria' (this time someone not named) at Lysias 16.15, quoted by KA. If, as it appears, a man is being designated here by the name of his tribe, there may have been a special reason: if so, it is not made clear. Pericles, as was remarked in the prefatory note, is outstandingly prominent as a member of the phyle Akamantis, and this may have been one of his nicknames, like 'the Olympian' (Ar. *Ach.* 530), or 'the squill-headed Zeus' (Cratinus, *Thrattai* 73 KA). If that is so, since the person in question is evidently supposed to be alive, the play must have been produced before Pericles' death in 429 BC. That enhances the possibility that the author was Cratinus, since Eupolis had barely begun then, and Aristophanes not yet, while the fine copy from which the scrap comes suggests a major dramatist, one of the canonical three.

One might try to escape from finding a personal allusion by taking 'the Akamantid' as a general reference to 'the citizen', as opposed to Sosias (8) representing 'the slave'; but if so, it is not obvious why membership of a phyle (or this particular phyle) rather than a deme should stand for citizenship, nor why a comic chorus such as this should exclude citizens generally, or those of this phyle, from the benefits it offers. It is true that 'world turned upside down' comedies do fantasize on situations in which slaves no longer do their work (Crates, *Theria* 16 KA; Pherecrates, *Agrioi* 10 KA); but that is another matter.

6-7 The designation of the god is lost and open to speculation. The supplement given presumes that the reference is to Dionysus, present at the edge of the orchestra in the person of his statue, and so to the chorus, *τόνδε*. This speculation is perhaps more likely than assuming that the *τόνδε* refers back to the Akamantid of 5, who would then, by the normal usage of this pronoun in drama, be supposed to be physically present rather than vividly present to mind: see Fraenkel on A.

Ag. 160–62 and Sandbach on *M. Dysk.* 125. The presence of Apollo at the house door in the form of his altar or emblem is sometimes alluded to in drama, as in the oath *νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί*, for which see *M. Dysk.* 659 and commentators ad loc.; so, in front of his temple, Pan is *οὗτος . . . ὁ Πάν*, *ibid.* 311. *τόνδε* here, it seems, is more intimate: at *Ar. Clouds* 319 the chorus swears an oath by *τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ἐκθρέψαντά με*.

7 *πορθμεύς*[ω, first person singular (not in itself unambiguous; it could, if complete, represent the noun or, if not, another part of the verb), could be taken as a statement by the chorus in spite of first person plural *ἡμῶν* in 4, for the reference readily shifts, as at *Ar. Ach.* 312 from . . . *πρὸς ἡμᾶς* to *εἶτ' ἐγὼ σου φείσομαι*;

8 Restoring the genitive provides the slave with a mock patronymic. Both *-ωνος* and *-οντος* forms are attested, *Παρμένοντ(α)* at *Men. Sam.* 281. For the patronymic, note the slave's boastful declaration in Plautus, *Amph.* 365, *Sosiam uocant Thebani, Dauo prognatum patre*; here it is part of the fantasy of the situation that the chorus presents, in a mood more euphoric than satirical. A Sosias son of Parmenon is known to a learned scholiast on Aristophanes, *Wasps* 78, as David Whitehead pointed out to me in discussion: see *AAAH* 48 (2008), above. It is open to question whether he was a real person or a prosopographical derivative from the present passage, as I incline to think. The coincidence, however interpreted, is remarkable.

Fr. 2

Metre: undetermined; fr. 4, like fr. 2, is from mid-line in a single short metre; fr. 3, from a dialogue scene, most likely gives the beginnings of iambic trimeters.

Too few letters are preserved to allow unambiguous reading and articulation, and other possibilities than those offered are not hard to find.

Fr. 3

1 *τις* [], alternatively *τιϚ* [], the last a trace at the edge, mid-line to low-line; over the iota, the lower part of a small circle, followed by the lower end of a sloping oblique, taken here as an aid to the reader, in the shape of a sign of short quantity and, perhaps, an acute accent: this rather than Ϛ as a correction and the tail of a stroke from the line above. Possibly *τις* ἐ[*ct*].

2 The paragrafus marks a change of speaker at the end of the line, within it, or both.

Fr. 4

1 Ambiguous: e.g. *ἔτιαν*, *-αν[τ]*; *-]ε* *τίαν[τ]*; *ἔτις* *ἄν*[: from 'pay' (a penalty, a sum of money).

2 *ἀσελαίνων*, of licentious or other outrageous behavior, only here in Comedy; but *Ar. Wasps* 61 has *ἀνασελαινόμενος* 'being abused' (*ἐν-* Hermann); *ἀσελήης* and *ἀσελῶς* are recurrent in the vocabulary of abuse, as well as the verb *-αίνω*: e.g. Andocides, *Against Alcibiades* (4).7.

3 (?) *ἐνός*, *γένος*, *-μενος*, etc. *διὰ τ[αῦτα]* seems likely enough after the stop, but if the metre is troch. tetri, the long syllable would give a second example within a few lines of the 'dactylic' resolution that is found only in a handful of isolated examples throughout Attic Comedy. In line 6, the pattern is inevitable, but can be defended from examples contained within a word or word-group, as in *πορνίδιον*, *Men. Perik.* 150 or *τὴν κεφαλὴν*, *Ar. Ach.* 318; but in 3 the pattern is broken by a stop, and would depend for a possible parallel on *Men. Sik.* 135 (itself disputed) *στρατοφάνη, κατὰ κύμβολα*. Restorations that avoid this difficulty are nonetheless available: e.g. *διὰ τ[ι* or *δι' ἀτ[υχίαν]*. See further White, *Verse of Greek Comedy* §205, 250, 264; and Sandbach on *Men. Dysk.* 774 *νῆ Δία, πλούσιός γ' ἀνήρ*, with further references.

4 The circumflex accent, no doubt added for clarification, marks the rare verb *κορωνιάω*; it is unclear whether third person singular or another part was written. It apparently describes exuberant behavior, not unlike *ἀναχαιτίζω* (LSJ under 1.1) or *κερουτιάω* (*Ar. Ach.* 1344); it is used of a lively

bronze horse by Lysippus in an epigram by Philip (*AP* 9.777, 2 = 3059 G.-P.); of human ambition (Polybius 27.15.6); and coupled with *γαυριῶντα* Dio Chrysostomos 78.33. Unless it is to be found at Hesiod *S.* 289 or Semonides 18 W. (both doubtful), this is the earliest recorded instance.

5 One can think of *οὔ]πω* or *οὐδέ]πω*, according to metrical position, followed by a suitable part of *γίγνομαι*.

6 Part of *χειροτονέω*, inevitably: but what part? Possibly aorist or perfect participle passive, of election to office rather than appointment by lot, as in *χειροτονηθεὶς ἢ λαχῶν* (Plato, *Politicus* 300A, quoted with Aeschines 1.106 by LSJ). As elsewhere in this fragment, there is more than one metrical possibility; for the resolution, if troch. tetr. and not ia. trim., see on 3 above.

7 Perhaps, in iambs, *πέρ]υσι* δὲ *κα[ὶ νῦν* - υ - (*νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσι*, Xen. HG 3.2,7), but the quantity of *υ* is undetermined, and *-σι* may rather be *-εσι*. Otherwise, at line-end, the same letters admit various possibilities, among them (with long *υ* or diphthong) *-υσι δέκα* or *δὲ κα[ὶ*, (with short *υ*) *-υσι δεκά[κισ* or *δέκα[τος* with υ - to follow.

8 *ἐστρα]τήγης*, of being or becoming a *στρατηγός*, is attractive, giving a welcome third person and sense suitable to the apparent context of political attack.

9 *κλέπτων*, hardly a compound. MacDowell on Ar. *Wasps* 758-9 notes that 'the present tense of *κλέπτω*, as of *ἀδικέω*, can have a perfect sense: "being guilty of theft"'. The verb, and its related nouns *κλοπή* and *κλέπτης*, are used of financial misdemeanours of various kinds by holders of public offices, and an action for *κλοπή* could be brought against them. See, for instance, Ar. *Knights* 1224-6, 1252, and *passim*, of Cleon; *Lys.* 490, of Peisandros.

E. W. HANDLEY

5077. EPICURUS (ET AL.), *EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES*

100/117(a)	fr. 1 5.4 × 13.5 cm	Late first / early second century
7 1B.3/J(e)	fr. 2 13.5 × 16.4 cm	Plates IV-V
38 3B.81/C(1-3)d	fr. 3 3.1 × 10.5 cm	

Two ensembles and a single fragment, together preserving parts of 4-5 columns written along the fibres of a papyrus roll. On the back of fr. 1 and across the fibres, the same way up, are accounts of building materials in a documentary cursive of roughly contemporary date, scheduled for publication in a later volume. The back of fr. 2 and 3 is blank. There is a single trace of a line-end of a column preceding fr. 1 col. i (upper right arm of κ, γ, χ?) at the level of line 4. Location of detached pieces in fr. 1-2 has been determined though the identification of continuities of writing, fibres, and surface quality on both fronts and backs. (Where single rows of dots appear separating detached pieces in the transcript of fr. 1 col. i, vertical alignment is assured, but their exact level is a matter of conjecture.) That fr. 1-3 belong to one and the same papyrus roll depends on the identity of handwriting, format, layout, size of letters, interlinear space, line-lengths, and shared graphic traits (see below). The colour and surface quality of the far right side of fr. 1 is visibly closer to that of fr. 2 than elsewhere in fr. 1. Extant intercolumnar space between the columns in fr. 1-3 is identical (c.1.8 cm). Placement of fr. 3 relative to the other two is uncertain. Line-beginnings in fr. 1 col. ii and in fr. 3 and the line-ends of fr. 2 col. i may, but need not, be from one and the same column.

The script is a medium-large, confident, fluid capital of the Formal Round type known from the end of the first and beginning of the second century. Its main feature is an upright, bilinear rotundity, in which ο, ε, and ϑ are built on the same perfectly round shape (only φ is slightly compressed vertically into an oval shape, normally not quite closed at top). μ and ω are similarly rounded, though wider. η, ν, and π, although not rounded, occupy an almost square space, with only slight vertical extension. Although the script is relatively undecorated, slight finials sometimes appear on the tops and bottoms of uprights. The handwriting bears some resemblance to II 246 (Roberts, *GLH* 100, Return of Sheep A.D. 66), although more confident and stylized and somewhat later: the mid-stroke of ε is often attached to the inside of the bowl, but is occasionally detached and almost never extends beyond it (cf. fr. 2 ii 11).

Lectional signs are in part to be attributed to the original scribe: circumflex accent (fr. 1 i 10), apostrophe (9), punctuation by low stop (2) and by paragraphus (fr. 1 i 1, 7, 18, 25; ii 2; fr. 2 ii 24). The high stops (fr. 1 i 7, 9) and the inorganic diaeresis on initial ι (fr. 1 i 3, 6) were written using a darker hue of ink and may well have been added by a second hand or pen. Frr. 1 and 3 show a coronis (at the level of 12–13). There is one correction (fr. 1 i 25). The writer inconsistently elides final vowels before vowel-initial words (once marked by apostrophe: fr. 1 i 9), sometimes writing *scriptio plena*. Iota adscript is sometimes written, sometimes omitted (in fr. 2; no certain opportunity to observe in fr. 1); crasis, apparently, at least twice (fr. 1 i 3, 14). An even right-hand edge is aimed for by the elision (marked by apostrophe: fr. 1 i 9) or diminution, suspension, and crowding of the final letters at end of the line (fr. 1 i 2, 7, 8; fr. 2 ii 27, 29, 32), or by the omission of final nu signalled by a stroke above the preceding vowel at line-end (fr. 1 i 5, 6; fr. 2 ii 17). Maas's law may be observed in both fragments.

The manner of address (direct address in fr. 1; first person plural in both frr.) is epistolary. In the context of a bookhand and bookroll this would normally imply a collection of letters. The marginal coronides after fr. 3.12 and fr. 1 ii 10 presumably marked the end of one letter and the beginning of the next (unless the latter was the last letter in the collection, in which case it also marked the end of the roll). Neither writer nor addressee is named, except perhaps in fr. 3; the writer in fr. 1 hails from Athens or Attica (see on i 8). However, mention of other known persons (including Epicurus: fr. 3.13), places, and books, together with a strikingly stylized phrase (at fr. 1 i 10–12) and the philosophical content of fr. 2, identify 5077 as belonging to the widely circulating collection of the letters of Epicurus and his earliest followers, dating from the first quarter or so of the third century BC (Epic. frr. 40–133 Arrighetti²). The collection was known from the second century BC (Philodemus, *Βίος Φιλωνίδου* (P. Herc. 1044) fr. 14,3–10 Gallo *πεπόηκεν* | *δὲ νέοις ἀργοῖς ὠφελίμους καὶ* | [τ]ὰς ἐπιτομὰς τ[ὼν] | *ἐπιστολῶν*) through to late antiquity. Philodemus, Cicero, Seneca, Porphyry, Marcus Aurelius, Dionysius the

Areopagite, and Didymus the Blind all refer to these letters and quote from them; formally, they could be cited by addressee in the form *πρός* + accusative (for the addressee), together with the year of the Athenian archon in which they were written (or copied), and which provided a chronological framework for the ordering of the letters in the collection: so Seneca, *Epist.* 18.9 *in his epistolis ait, quas scripsit Charino magistratu ad Polyaeum*. **5077** shows no overlap with any quotation from previously-known Epicurean letters. But the concern voiced over the time of safe sea travel (fr. 1 i 8–10) alludes to a well-known event recounted in one of them, viz. the oft-mentioned shipwreck Epicurus suffered while traveling from Athens to Asia Minor to visit his friends (see fr. 1 i 9 n.). The incident, together with concerns over safety in traveling by sea and resulting reflections on the self-sufficiency of happiness, became a familiar topos in Epicurean writing and commentary on it.

Like Cicero's letters *ad familiares*, Epicurus' collection also contained some of the addressees' corresponding letters to Epicurus, together with others from the recipients of his. By far the greater number, however, will have been authored by Epicurus himself. So while it is possible that the letter or letters preserved in **5077** could be by an Epicurean other than Epicurus, the number of candidates is diminished for fr. 1 by the mention of associates of Epicurus for whom letters are attested but who are here named: these include Leonteus (fr. 1 i 3) and perhaps also Mithres (fr. 1 i 21, ii 2). This leaves Idomeneus, Polyaeus, Metrodorus, and Pythocles as possible authors (the last famously lamented as having died perhaps too young to have left many letters; however, the evidence for his early death has been challenged by D. Sedley, *CErc* 6 (1976), while the opening of Epicurus' *Letter to Pythocles* actually mentions a letter from him). (Similarly, a new fragment of P. Herc. 1589 quotes from an archon-dated letter mentioning Themista and addressed to Leonteus: G. del Mastro, *CErc* 38 (2008) 225.) The confident address and assertive tone of the instructions in fr. 1 and the distinctively stylized formula of well-wishing (i 11–12), together with the subject matter and satirical language in fr. 2, may be added to the argument from statistical probability for the authorship of Epicurus himself. Fr. 3.13 is the beginning of a letter that can be seen from its epistolary opening formula to be by Epicurus.

For Epicurus' later reputation (on the basis of the circulating collection) as an avid letter writer, and for the range of his addressees and the contents and tone of his letters, see Plut. *De lat. viv.* 1128F–1129A (Epic. fr. 98 [Arrighetti²]) *καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τοῖς χρηστοῖς λανθάνειν καὶ ἀγνοεῖσθαι παραινεῖς . . . καὶ σεαυτῷ πρῶτον, Ἐπίκουρε· μὴ γράφε τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ φίλοις, μηδὲ τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ξενολόγει, μηδὲ τοὺς Λαμψακηνῶν ἐφήβους δορυφόρει, μηδὲ διάπεμπε βίβλους πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν σοφίαν, μηδὲ διατάσσου περὶ ταφῆς*, 'If it is to good men that you aim this advice to go unnoticed and unknown, then you are telling Epaminondas not to be a general, Lycurgus not to frame laws, Thrasybulus to slay no tyrants, Pythagoras not to teach, Socrates not to converse, and yourself to begin with,

Epicurus, not to write to your friends in Asia, not to enlist recruits from Egypt, not to cultivate the youths of Lampsacus, not to circulate books to every man and every woman in which you advertise your wisdom, and not to leave instructions for your funeral.' (Cf. the remarks of G. Roskam, *Live Unnoticed (Λάθε βιώσας): On the Vicissitudes of an Epicurean Doctrine* (2007) 101–28). Apart from cultivating *φιλία*, the letters' primary purpose was to give support and guidance to pupils and followers, thus encouraging and synchronizing philosophical efforts (see M. Erler, 'Epikur' in H. Flashar (ed.), *Die Philosophie der Antike* iv.1 (1994) 48–51). Most prominent were the 'didactic' letters to Herodotus, Pythocles, and Menoecus quoted at length (in the form of treatises in a flimsy epistolary frame) by D. L. 10.35–83, 84–116, 122–35. Other letters are known to have contained more personal, programmatic, propagandistic, or even trivial material (P. Herc. 176 fr. 5 col. 23 Angeli, for example, gives the text of a letter to an unknown child, perhaps by Batis sister of Metrodorus = Epic. fr. 261 Arrighetti² = Hermarchus fr. 2 Longo Auricchio). See F. Javier Campos Daroca and M. de la Paz López Martínez, 'Communauté épicurienne et communication épistolaire: Lettres de femmes selon le PHerc. 176; la correspondance de Batis', and A. Tepedino Guerra, 'Le lettere private del *Κῆπος*: Metrodoro, i maestri e gli amici epicurei (PHerc. 176 e PHerc. 1418)' in A. Antoni, G. Arrighetti et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea papyrologica herculanensia I* (2010) 21–36 and 37–62 respectively.

5077 seems to fall into the latter category, as it augments the modest but growing number of Epicurean texts to surface on papyri from Egypt: P. Getty Mus. acc. 76.A1.27 (CPF I* 5; cf. E. Puglia, *ΣPE* 117 (1997) 42–4); LI **3643** (CPF I* 50 2 T); P. Berol. inv. 16369 (CPF 51 4 T; 70 1 T; 70 2 T); P. Berol. inv. 21312 + P. Schubart 27, fr. a.2–6 (CPF I* 51 5 T); P. Grenf. II 7a (CPF 51 10?); II **215** (CPF 51 11); XLVII **3318** (CPF 58 2 T); PSI VII 851b (= M–P³ 2599, letter of Epicurus? cf. M. Gronewald, *ΣPE* 36 (1979) 53–4); P. Heid. inv. 1740 (= M–P³ 2577); cf. LV **3724**). But it is so far the first identifiably from a corpus that achieved something like canonical status, both inside and outside the Epicurean school. The second-century BC Epicurean Philonides composed an epitome of the letters by Epicurus and his earliest authoritative followers, the *καθηγεμόνες*, and other letters, following the order *κατὰ γένος*. The anonymous author of P. Herc. 176 and Philodemus in various treatises had one or even several collections of letters by the early Epicureans at their disposal (cf. A. Angeli, *CErc* 23 (1993) 11–12). Seneca can cite letters by Epicurus (*Ep.* 18.8; 22.5; 79.15; 7.11; 25.6, 9.1) and Metrodorus (*Ep.* 79.16; 98.9; 99.25), while Cicero cites a letter by Epicurus (*De fin.* 2.30,96) that is elsewhere attributed to Hermarchus. Diotimus the Stoic mentioned 50 letters allegedly written by Epicurus that showed him in a dubious moral light (D. L. 10.3). All of this points to the emergence of an authoritative collection of letters attributed to Epicurus and his early associates, genuine and spurious alike. It is a reasonable probability that **5077** was part of this collection.

Fr. I col. i

c.4] . α[c.13
 cθε. αποστε . [. .] τε και προ
 λεονταϊνα . [.] κεινος
 απογραψητα και το αν
 5 τιγραφον κελευε σωζ . ι
 ινα και οι λοιποι εχωμε
 χρησθαι . επι δε γινωσκε
 οτι του ελαφηβολιωνος
 αρουμεν δια νησων . ω . τ'
 10 απανταν επισαμουκα
 λωσ και ηδεωσ και μακα
 ριωσ υπαρχεισ και παν
 τιτ ρουντιτ . .
 . . . [. . .] . . μενωναμ . [.
 15 δια . [. .] . [. .] ν . [. .] καστα
 ων [. . . .] . . γγε . . ωκα .
 . υ . [. . . .] . ηλωνωσ . [.
 λο . [. . . .] [. .] επιστο
 20 λα . [. . . .] . τε προς [. .] . [.
 τε . [. . . .] αλμεν . [.
 . . [. . . .] ροσμ [. .

] δω [. . .] [. . . .]
] τιασα [. . .] . προς [. . .]
] γραψ . [. .] ισφιλοι . [. .]
 25 ρον ' οι [. . .] . ιαπω [. . .]
] το . . . [.] . [. .] . υ . [. . .]

] ναιδος [. . .]
] . ε τουτ . [. . .]
] . και [. . .]
 30] . [. . .]

] . [. . .]
] ωτας [. . .]
] κασε [. . .]

c.4] . α[c.13
 cθε, αποστει[λα]τε και προς
 Λεοντέα ινα κ[α] κεινος
 απογραψηται . και το αν
 5 τιγραφον κελυε σωζει(ν)
 ινα και οι λοιποι εχωμε(ν)
 χρησθαι . επι δε γινωσκε
 οτι του ελαφηβολιωνος
 αρουμεν δια νησων . ωστ'
 10 απανταν επι Σαμου κα
 λωσ και ηδεωσ και μακα
 ριως υπαρχεισ και παν
 τι τωι ευκαιρουντι των
 ταμ[α δε] χομενων αμα
 15 διαθ[εω]ρ[ου]ντα [ε] καστα
 ων [εγω α] παγγελλω και
 αυτ[οις α] δηλον ως συλ
 λογ[ιζειτ]αι . ας [δ'] επιστο
 20 λας [ελαβ]ετε προς[θε]ς , [την
 τε α[πεστ]αλμενην παρα
 εμ[ου π]ρος Μ[ιθρη]ν , ιν' ι-

δω[σιν] και επι τας αι
 τιας α[ς κα] ι προς [NN
 γραψω [το] ις φιλοις [ετε
 25 ρον ' οι [. . .] . ιαπω [. . .]
 το βιβ[λίον] . [. .] . υ . [. . .]

] ναιδος [. . .]
] . ε τουτ . [. . .]
] . και [. . .]
 30] . [. . .]

] . [. . .]
] ωτας [. . .]
] κασε [. . .]

35 .]ρομ.[
 ..].αι[

35 .]ρομ.[
 ..].αι[

Fr. 1 col. ii

5 κκ.[
 μιθ[
 οδ].[
 πο[
 μο[
 εστ.[
 υπα[
 αλλ.[
 επ[
 10 [.].[
 [[[[]

5 κκ.[
 Μιθ[ρ
 οδ].[
 πο[
 μο[
 εστ.[
 υπα[
 αλλ.[
 επ[
 10 [.].[
 [[[[]

Col. i

1], short horizontal finial as from the foot of an upright, spaced sufficiently far to the left of α for τ, γ more likely 9 , top of a round letter as of ε, c 15], left side of round letter with horizontal protruding from the middle: ε or θ], descender .., upright centred under high horizontal (clearly visible at left), followed by two traces at the level of the line 19 `', supralinear correction, perhaps ο or c 22-6 although no surface survives to the left, these letters seem to align themselves as line-beginnings (as confirmed by the paragraphus after 25) 25 , ostensibly c or perhaps ε, but inked over in a blunter pen, and there is also ink spread over the interlinear space above, as though an interlinear correction had been inked out 26 . . ., small high cirlet with descender on left, top of upright, small high cirlet with descender on left, as of ριρ or ΒΙΒ

Col. ii

3], foot of diagonal rising from left to right at line of writing as of α or λ, not ε 6], foot of diagonal rising from left to right at line of writing as of α or λ, not ι 8], upper left quadrant of round letter

Fr. 2 col. i

c.12]καστο.[
 c.11]ναακουω
 c.13].ετην
 c.8].γαρ.[.]ε.δ.
 5 c.10]δενι.[
 c.11].αναιμα
 c.11].....ου
 c.4]προ[.]καιη..εις
 c.4].....[c.9
 10 c.4]νοουν[.]αιμω
 c.14]οποτ[
]...[

c.11 ε]καστο.[
 c.11]να ακούω
 c.12 ἀ]ρετην
 c.8]ς γαρ. [.]ειδε
 5 c.10]δενι ελ[
 c.11]γαναιμα
 c.11].....ου
 c.4]προ[.]καιη..εις
 c.4].....[c.9
 10 c.2 ἀγ]νοούντ[εσ κ]αὶ μω-
 ροὶ c.11]οποτ[
]...[

Fr. 2 col. ii

περχ[c.14
 νατο.[c.13
 δικαιοσυνη[c.9
 τοεπιτωνς.[c.10
 5 γη..ωσπε[c.9
 c.4]νουςχ.[c.5
 ..]τικαιητο[.]...[c.4
 καιαλλ[.]στιςχη.ατα.[
 αυτη[.]ωρος.φιαπο[c.2
 10 ρονκατασυν.θειαντ[c.2
 φωνη.αυτη.ανμεν..[
 πητιστοτε..[c.9
 μαησι...[c.9
 ..[c.2].[.]...[c.11
 15 τ[c.3]λλο[.....].τος.[
 c.4]γω[c.5]δελευκο.
 c.4]ρ.[c.6]..ιπωμῆ
 c.11]χηματ.
 c.17]το
 20 μ[c.7]α[c.8].υ
 το[c.3].το[c.6]υκος.

περχ[c.14
 νατο.[c.13
 δικαιοσύνη[c.9
 το ἐπὶ τῶν χ[ημάτων ἐνάρ-
 5 χημα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ τε-
 τραγώνου σχήματος
 ἐς]τι, καὶ ἡ τοῦ [δι]κ[αίου
 καὶ ἄλλ[α] ἔστι σχήματα τ[ῆι
 αὐτῆι [μ]ωροσοφία(ι), πό[τε-
 10 ρον κατὰ συνήθειαν τ[ῆς
 φωνῆς αὐτῆς. ἂν μὲν εἴ-
 πη(ι) τις τὸ τετρ[άγωνον σχῆ-
 μα ἢ σῶμα..[c.9
 ..[c.2].[.]...[c.11
 15 τ[... ἄ]λλο[υ σχήμ]ατος τ[ε-
 τραγ]γώνου c.2]δε λευκο.
 c.4]ρ.[c.6] δ' εἰπωμε(ν)
 c.10]χηματι
 c.17]το
 20 μ[c.7]α[c.8].υ
 το[c.3].το[c.4]λε]υκός.

	π[c.3]δα α λ[c.7]το.		π[c.3]δα ἀλλ[c.7]το.
	δ.[c.3].ουα λονομιζο		δι[c.3]του ἄλλο νομιζο-
	μ[c.6]υτωλεγον..[		μ[c.5 ο]ῦτω λέγοντο[ε
25	τω[c.5]λευκοναλλα	25	τω[c.5] λευκὸν ἄλλα
	συν[c.5]...ολ[.]γειναλ		συν[c.5]...ο λ[έ]γειν αλ-
	γου[c.2]τηςτηςδιαλεκτου		γου[c.2]της τῆς διαλέκτου
	c.12]ακολου		c.12] ἀκολου-
	θ[c.10]τετραγω-		θ[c.10] τετράγω-
30	.].ν[c.8]σχηματι	30	ν]ον [c.8] σχήματι
	.]ω[c.10].οντες		.]ω[c.7 λέ]γοντες
	.].[c.10]ενκαιτο		.].[c.10]εν καὶ τὸ
	c.12]αιναι		c.12]α εἶναι
	c.14].ατι		c.11 σχή]ματι
35	c.16 ].[	35	c.16].[
	c.15]και		c.15]και
	c.15 ]..[		c.15]..[

Col. i

1 ., upright, as of 1 3 ., top arc of a tiny bowl, as of ρ 4], upper right-hand arc of circle δ., before δ upright, after δ lower left-hand arc of circle 5 ., lower left-hand arc of circle, then oblique rising from the line to the right 6], upright with finial at top, as of ν 7, lower left-hand arc of circle, bottom of upright, tops and bottoms of three round letters, the middle one with horizontal ink at mid-level, perhaps ε 8 ., top of upright, followed by upright 9, bottoms of two uprights, indistinct traces 10 .[, horizontal at letter-height extending left, suggesting τ 12 indistinct traces letter-top height

Col. ii

2 ., lower left arc of circle, ε θ ο c ω 5 χ, high horizontal with no centred upright . . ., three successive apices 7 ., bottom of upright].[, upright 8], curved cap as of ε, c ., saddle and curved right-hand part of e.g. μ .[, left-hand half of horizontal at letter-top height 9 .[, upright ., right-hand half of circle 10 ., upright with faint horizontal protruding right at mid-level 11 first ., prima facie c, but with slight diagonal stroke in centre not attached to the inside of the bowl, connection stroke rather than mid-stroke of ε? second ., middle-part of left-hand arc of circle . . ., arc of back and top of round letter as ε or c, followed by gently rising diagonal connection stroke to top of upright 12 ., left-hand half of horizontal letter-top intersecting with top of upright as τ, then diagonal rising from bottom-line as α, λ 13, upright and two apices followed by indistinct traces of two letters 14 indistinct traces 15 .[, left-hand end of horizontal letter-top 16 ., bottom of round letter 21 ., left-hand part of horizontal letter-top intersecting with top of upright 22 ο., trace at line-level followed by top of upright 31 .[, horizontal at letter-top level

Fr. 3

	.]...[.]...[
	.]..[.]..[
	..]..[..]..[
	..].ν.[		..].ν.[
5	....].][	5].][
	..].η[		..].η[
	..]ο.[		..]ο.[
	.μ.[		.μ.[
	δ.ρ[		δορ[
10	.[.]][	10	.[.]][
	κα[]ο[.]κ[		κα[]ο[.]κ[
	οτεεγρ[		οτε εγρ[αψ
	(vac.)		(vac.)
	επικο[.]][		Επικο[υ]ρ[οc
	χαι.[		χαίρ[ειν
15	τογ..[	15	τογ..[

1-2 indistinct traces 3 indistinct trace followed by upright 4 .[, left-hand half of horizontal at letter-top level intersecting with top of upright as τ 5 .][, indistinct trace, left-hand half of horizontal at letter-top level, possibly followed by trace of foot of upright 7 .][, indistinct traces 8 .[, upright 9 .][, upper right-hand arc of round letter, too proximate to δ to be ω, ο suggested ρ[, lower left-hand arc of tiny bowl high in the letter-space 11 [], space for narrow letter, e.g. ι 13].][, descending upright as of tail of ρ 14 see note; .[trace close in to ι at bottom-line, compatible with ρ 15 .][, indistinct traces at letter-top level

Fr. 1 col. i

(For when you have made yourself a copy?), send it to Leonteus in turn, in order that he too may make a copy for himself. Tell him to conserve it, in order that the rest of us may use it too. Furthermore, know that we shall depart during the month of Elaphebolium travelling via the islands. Therefore it is possible for you and everyone sparing the time who is following my teachings to meet each other on Samos, “virtuously, pleasantly, and blessedly”, to contemplate together each of the things that I instruct and that it is unclear to them how they are understood (or collected?). Send the letters that you have received, and the one that was sent from me to Mithres, in order that they know, and for the reasons that I will write also to NN for the friends and a different one for you . . . the book . . .’

1-2 The paragraphus implies that a sentence ended somewhere in this line, so a minimum of several letters is needed for this at the beginning of the line. On the other hand, the low point indicating weak pause after 2]cθe indicates that line 1 must have also contained the protasis or opening clause of the following sentence. Thus perhaps τὸ (or τὰc?)] γὰ[ρ ὅτε ἀπέγράψα]cθe, κτλ. Presumably this was a text (or texts) of some importance, whose identity, title, and perhaps content were made clear in the preceding column: thus a treatise or letter(s) (to warrant copying and conserving by the addressee)? If of a treatise (i.e. a book, cf. fr. 1 i 26 τὸ βιβ[λίον]), it might well have been part of

Epicurus' *magnum opus* *Περὶ φύσεως*, whose 36 books were produced serially between 306 BC and Epicurus' death, here seen being distributed in Asia Minor for reproduction there by faithful followers. For copies of Epicurus' books circulating at Athens in the third century BC, see G. Cavallo, *Scrittura et civiltà* 8 (1984) 5–12, and, according to D. Clay, in the Athenian Metroön ('Epicurus in the Archives of Athens', *Studies . . . presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (1982) 17–26 [= *Paradosis and Survival* (1998) chap. 3, 40–54]). If the copy is of another letter, this new letter in **5077** could be foundational and aetiological for the formation of the corpus of Epicurus' letters, instructing as it does to make and conserve copies and facilitate copying by other Epicureans, and as such it might be expected to have stood in a prominent position in the collection of letters itself, e.g. as a kind of preface (this was suggested by Professor Most; parallels with the activities of St Paul and early Christian groups spring to mind). A private document seems less likely, though not perhaps impossible (for example Epicurus' will transmitted at D. L. 10.16–21, or papers relating to ownership of the Kepos?).

2 ἀποστεί[λα]τε. Whatever the significance of the aorist, the verb at least implics that the addressee and Leonteus and the sender are not in the same place at the time of writing (the same goes for the sender), though of course they may be together in the future. Presuming that the Leonteus is in Lampsacus (see below), and the sender in Athens, the recipient(s) could belong to an Epicurean community in some city or other in Asia Minor (e.g. Mytilene), to whom Epicurus wrote letters. For ἀποστέλλειν used of shipments of books, cf. Basilius *Ep.* 9.2 and 135.1 Courtonne.

3 Λεοντέα. Of plausible candidates, this could be Leonteus of Taras (Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 36, no. 267 in a catalogue of Pythagoreans; Pythagoras himself was a native of Samos, and fr. 2 ii 1 ff. shows possible interest in Pythagorean mathematics, but **5077** has no Doric, as is characteristic of Pythagorean writings) or the disciple of the Academic philosopher Lacydes mentioned by Philod. *Ind. Acad.* col. M,11 Dorandi, *Suda* Π 1707,26 s.v. Πλάττων, or he might be unknown. But the first-generation Epicurean scholar (Strab. 13.1,19; D. L.10.25, 26; H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig 1887) 410 f. s.v.; T. Dorandi in CPF I*, 54 s.v.) is by far the most prominent individual by this name, and most likely here: Epicurus is known to have sent letters to him several times: P. Herc. 176 fr. 5 col. 24,12–16 Vogliano (Epic. fr. 67 = Polyaeus fr. 15 Tepedino Guerra); Philod. *Pragm.* (P. Herc. 1418) col. 15 Militello; cf. A. Angeli, 'Leonteus' p. 66; Philod. *Ad [---]* (P. Herc. 1005) fr. 38,9–16 Angeli; Philod. *De lib. dic.* (P. Herc. 1471) fr. 6,5–13 Olivieri (Epic. fr. 69); Philod. *Pragm.* (P. Herc. 1418) col. 32,15–16 Militello. Cf. the quotation of an archon-dated letter to Leonteus mentioning Themista, recently identified in P. Herc. 1589: G. del Mastro, *CErc* 38 (2008) 225. For obvious reasons the present text cannot be a letter to Leonteus (he is referred to by name). But he is also referred to by name in letters sent by Epicurus to others: P. Herc. 176 fr. 5 col. 9,13 Angeli (Epic. fr. 70); Philod. *Pragm.* (P. Herc. 1418) col. 7,7 Militello. He spent his life at Lampsacus, where he served as head of the Epicurean school there after Epicurus' departure for Athens in 306, and seems to have visited Epicurus in Athens at least once: P. Herc. 176 fr. 5 col. 12,10–13 Angeli; fr. 5 col. 9,1–14 Angeli (Polyaeus fr. 56 Tepedino Guerra). For P. Herc. 176, see A. Angeli, *CErc* 18 (1988) 27–51 and A. Vogliano, *Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta* (1928) 23–75; and Philodemus' *Πραγματεία* in C. Militello, *Filodemo: Memorie epicuree* (PHerc. 1418 e 310) (1997). On Leonteus see further A. Angeli, 'Verso un' edizione dei frammenti di Leonteus di Lampsaco', in M. Capasso (ed.), *Miscellanea papirologica in occasione del bicentenario dell' edizione della Charta Borgiana* (1990) 59–69.

κ[ἀ]κεῖνος: sc. Leonteus, in addition to the addressee; both are expected to make a copy of the ἀντίγραφον.

4–5 τὸ ἀντίγραφον (cf. 1 ἀπόγ[ρα]φον?). Whether a book, letter, or some other document, is this the original, the recipient's own copy, or Leonteus' copy? The primary meaning is of course 'copy' as opposed to 'the original'; later it came to refer to an authoritative copy of a literary work, i.e. an edition or master example / exemplar. For ἀντίγραφον in this sense in this period, see XXIV **2387** (Alcman *Parthen.* 2) (a) fr. 1, top marginal note, with Parsons's n. 25 to *GMW*² p. 42. Even without meaning that here, it could still signify the 'manuscript' sent to the addressee. Leonteus was instructed

to make a copy and take good care of the original he received (i.e. his model-manuscript). It is this book the sender wants to be returned into his copy ('in order that we, the others, may use it, too'). Although the return is not explicitly mentioned, it seems to be implied by 'the rest of us', and in any case the written work in question has been referred to in the preceding lines, so that the addressee must know well what work is referred to and to whom it belongs. The terminology has some bearing on the correct textual constitution of the colophon to Epicurus, *Περὶ φύσεως* book 28 subscriptio, fr. 13 XIII Sedley, *CErc* 3 (1973):

Ἐπ[ί]κουρον
Περὶ φύσεως
κη'
ἐκ] τῶν ἀρχαίων [ἀντιγράφων (?)
ἐγ[ρ]άφη ἐπὶ Νικίου τοῦ μ[ε]τ' ἄ
Ἀν[τι]φάτην [i.e. 296/5 BC]

Whereas Clay (op. cit.) had restored [ἐκ] τῶν ἀρχαίων [αὐτογράφων, D. Sedley maintained [περὶ] τῶν ἀρχαίων, 'concerning his early works' ('Philosophical Allegiance in the Greco-Roman World' in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata* (1989) 107; cf. id., *Lucretius and the Transformation of Greek Wisdom* (1998) 128–9). According to G. Cavallo, the oldest of the Herculaneum papyri (books of Epicurus' *Περὶ φύσεως* dating back to the second and even the third century BC) were acquired in Athens and later imported into Italy, and these copies were derived directly from the manuscripts kept as 'official model manuscripts' in Epicurus' school in Athens (*S&C* 8 (1984) 5–12). Given that the sender of the letter in 5077 fr. 1 was in Athens at the time of writing (see 8 n.), and the likely didactic purpose for which the book was sent away, it cannot be ruled out that the work in question belonged to these 'model manuscripts' kept at Athens.

5 κέλευε: The change of numbers in the imperatives is paralleled in Epicurus' farewell letter to Idomeneus and his letter to Themista (fr. 5 Arrighetti²). Presumably here a group of like-minded followers addressed as 'you' is supposed to copy the book and pass it on; the recipient of the letter, however, is told to issue the order that the copy be kept.

κώζει(ν): commonly in the passive of works of literature that have been 'preserved' over time i.e. transmitted: cf. Galen *De ven. sect.* 1.5 (p. 221 Kühn); Athen. 15.698AB. Here there are more literal and practical considerations, i.e. to 'conserve' or 'keep a close eye on' the copy, so that it may not be destroyed. The express instruction to see to the conservation of the copy implies a certain value of the work in question (whether for study, further copying, or other purposes).

6 καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ: so also in the letter to the child, P. Herc. 176 fr. 5 col. 23 Angeli (= Epic. fr. 261 Arrighetti²) 12–13 ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ [ἱ] λοιποὶ πάντες σε μέγα φιλοῦμεν.

8 Ἐλαφρολιῶνος (about March) is typical of the Attic calendar. Outside Attica, usage is attested for Apollonia on Chalcidice (Athen. 8.334E) and Iasus in Caria (CIG 2675) only; cf. A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (1972) 57 f., 86, 114. Hence the writer is probably in Athens or Attica at the time of writing. In classical antiquity the sailing season typically lasted from 27 May to 14 September. Under normal circumstances no ship left port between 10 November and 10 March (cf. Vegetius, *De re mil.* 4.39); cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971) 270–73. We may conclude that the author is planning to undertake his sea voyage as soon as weather conditions allow.

9 διὰ νήσων (without the article), a technical term referring to an 'island-hopping' course from the Greek mainland to Asia Minor. Thus the νῆσοι are the Sporades or the Cyclades (cf. Herod. 6.95.2 ἀλλ' ἐκ Κάμου ὀρμώμενοι παρά τε Ἴκαρον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῦντο (sc. Datis and Artaphernes on their way to Euboea); id. 8.108; 9.3.1. Mardonius intended to signal capture of Athens to the King in Sardis by a chain of beacons διὰ νήσων (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.7; Diod. 20.37.1; 100.5; 111.3; Hippol. *Chron.* 537; Aesch. *Agam.* 281–316).

The author had reason to be concerned about the first time in the year when one could be relatively confident about safe passage across the Aegean by sea: Epicurus recounted his own experience of shipwreck in a letter, the content of which is closely paraphrased by Diog. Ocn. fr. 72 Smith and Plut. *Non posse suav.* 1090E, on which account, and its reminiscences of the *Odyssey* (5.411–12; 12.235–8), see D. Clay, 'Sailing to Lampsacus: Diogenes of Oenoanda, New Fragment 7', *GRBS* 14 (1973) 49–59 [= *Paradosis and Survival* (1998) chap. 11, 189–210]. Epicurus escaped within an inch of his life, holding onto 'rocks from which the sea could no longer draw him down and dash him back again. He was lacerated, as you might expect, and he took down a great mouthful of sea water. He was badly skinned when he crashed onto the sea-caten rocks. But then he managed to swim gradually out to open water. And it was at this moment that he was carried along by the waves to the plank that saved him. He barely reached safety, and flayed almost to an inch, he barely escaped with his life. Now he spent the next day in this state upon a high promontory and the following night and the next day until nightfall, exhausted by hunger and his injuries. We now understand that events which lay beyond our control are benefits despite appearances—the very doctrine he commends to you as reasonable. For your herald who brought you to safety has died; for afterwards chance . . .' (Diog. Ocn. fr. 72 Smith). Plutarch at *Non posse suav.* 1101B makes it clear that Diogenes' description comes from a letter of Epicurus, and that E. referred to it more than once in his letters. The topos recurs at *Non posse suav.* 1101B, and often (Epic. *Ad Pyth.* ap. Diog. Laert. 10.6 (fr. 89); Vergil, *Catalepton* 8–10; Philod. *Epigr.* 27.5–6 Sider). According to Plut. *Non posse suav.* 1091B the moral of the story was: τὸ γὰρ ποιούv, φησίν, ἀνυπέρβλητον γῆθος τὸ παρ' αὐτὸ πεφυγμένον μέγα κακόν. 'For what produces unsurpassed jubilation is the contrast with the evil escaped', as is expressed by the expectant καλῶς καὶ ἡδέως καὶ μακαρίως (10–12, where see note).

10 ἐπὶ Κάμου. Epicurus was traveling to Lampascus (*Non posse suav.* 1090E) when he was shipwrecked, whereas 5077 predicts a voyage to Samos; of course, the author may have intended to continue on to Lampsacus. After founding his school at Athens in 307/6, Epicurus travelled to Asia Minor 'two or three times' (D. L. 10.10). According to Diog. Laert. 10.10 καὶ χαλεπωτάτων δὲ καιρῶν κατασχόντων τηρικᾶδε τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτόθι καταβιῶναι, δις ἢ τρις εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τόπους πρὸς τοὺς φίλους διαδραμόντα, '[Epicurus] spent his whole life in Greece, in spite of the calamities it suffered in those days; when he did once or twice happen to take a trip to Ionia, it was to visit friends there.' Apart from a stay on Samos indicated for Epicurus by Philod. *Pragm.* (P. Herc. 1418) col. 25.8–9 Militello = Epic. Fr. 119 Arrighetti², that the letter περὶ τῶν ἀ[χ]ο[λ]ιωv was sent ἐκ <C>άμου (Crönert: εαμου apogr.), Epicurus had grown up on the island, before the Attic kleruchs were expelled during the Lamian War, and Epicurus may well have had acquaintances there (apart from its significance as a cultural, scientific, and religious centre).

10–12 καλῶς καὶ ἡδέως καὶ μακαρίως. A rising tricolon in a rhetorical flourish. For the jubilation, see below on 8–9, and cf. VS 52 ἡ φιλία περιχορεύει τὴν οἰκουμένην κηρύττουσα δὴ πάσιν ἡμῖν ἐγείρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν μακαρισμόν, 'Friendship dances round the whole civilized world, in very truth heralding to all of us to awake and call each other blessed.' Similar jubilation and makarismos by Epicurus in a letter from his deathbed: Epic. *Ad Idomenea* ap. Diog. Laert. 10.22 (fr. 52).

12–13 παντὶ: cf. Plut. *De lat. viv.* 1128F–1129A (Epic. fr. 98 Arrighetti²) διπέπεμπε βίβλους πάσι καὶ πασαῖς.

13 τῶι ἐνκαιροῦντι: 'who have the time for it'; see fr. 1 ii 2 n. for the significance of this phrase for the location.

14 τὰ μ[ὲ]ν ἀδε[χ]ομένων was suggested by Professor D'Alessio, noting that τὰ λ[λα] seems too wide for the available space.

15 διαθ[εω]ρ[εῖ]ν or διαθ[εω]ρ[οῦ]ντα was suggested by Professor Hammerstaedt. For the accusative after the datives, see Thuc. 4.20 ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν φίλους γενέσθαι.

16 The supplement is due to Professor Handley.

17–18 ἀ]δηλον ὡς κυλ|λοζ[ί]ζετ]αι (‘how they should understand or collect’ them) was suggested by Professor W. Furlcy.

19 προς[. . .] [: προς [Λε]ο]ντέα would fill the space nicely here, and is not incompatible with the scanty traces after προς (note that the third letter here has a supralinear correction over it). If so, then there is a distinction between orders to send the letters to Leonteus here, and orders to send him the work to be copied in 1–5, which would make it clear that a treatise was referred to there (see on 1–2). But would Leonteus’ name bear restating here, when it has been mentioned already in 3? In this case, reading προς [αὐ]τ[όν], referring anaphorically to Leonteus, might also be possible (though less good for the supralinear correction over the third letter-space).

20 ἀ[πεστ]αλμένην προς NN was suggested simultaneously by Professors D’Alessio and Parsons (‘perhaps a list of names i.e. titles?’).

21 π]ρος M[ιθρη]ν: see on fr. 1 ii 2.

23–4 ε]γγραψε was suggested by Professor Carey, which might seem to require Epicurus as subject, with the implication that the present must have been written by someone else. But in this case we might have expected αὐτός (‘the Master’) to have been expressed here as subject. Therefore we might look instead to one of the other early Epicureans who wrote extensively as the subject of ε]γγραψε. Professor W. Furlcy, however, suggests γράψω of Epicurus himself; the trace, the left side of a round letter, would suit either ε or ω. (Alternatively, we could have the imperative, parallel to the commands in 2–5).

Fr. 1 col. ii

1 κκ. [. The first preserved line of this column, at the level of line 2 of col. i. Thus at least one line has been lost before this line (at the level of line 1 of col. i).

2 Μιθ]ρ-. Mithres, the Syrian-born Epicurean, διορκητής of Lysimachus, whom Epicurus exhorted in numerous letters (fr. 72–84 Arrighetti²) to resign from politics, which he finally did after the battle of Curopedium (281): see further C. Militello (ed.), *Memorie Epicuree (PHerc 1418 e 310)* (1997) 250–54; P. Scholz, *Der Philosoph und die Politik* (1998) 298–301; Philod. *Pragm.* (P. Herc. 1418) col. 32a Militello, with ead. *CErc* 20 (1990) 75 and 82; C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (1997) 125. Mention of Mithres would date the present letter in **5077** to somewhere between 290 and 270. Philodemus’ *Pragmateia* (P. Herc. 1418) makes it clear that Epicurus’ letter π[ερὶ] τῶν ἀ[χολ]ιῶν, sent from Samos, was to or about Mithres (col. 25.7–9 χάω δ<ε> τῶι ἀνδ[ρὶ] | προς δν ἢ π[ερὶ] τῶν ἀ[χολ]ιῶν ἐκ | <C>άμου ἐπιτολή ἐγράφη). The letter dealt with ‘things that prevent one from studying philosophy’ and discussed persons who could not devote their life to philosophy because of engagement in other affairs such as politics, and Mithres served as an example of this kind of person. A parallel may be observed between 12–13 above, where παντὶ τῶι ἐξκαίρουντι, ‘everyone sparing the time’ appears to distinguish between those who have time for such philosophical activities as the planned excursion to Samos in **5077** fr. 1. This may be the same as that period on Samos referred to in the letter π[ερὶ] τῶν ἀ[χολ]ιῶν and in which Epicurus likewise discussed Mithres.

Fr. 2 col. i

3 ἀ]ρετήν was suggested by Professor W. Clarysse.

10 ‘. . . virtue . . . ignorant and foolish people . . .’.

Fr. 2 col. ii

‘How could there be a shape of justice owing to the vividness in the figures, just as there is in the figure of a square—and that of the just and the rest of the figures is through this same ridiculous “wisdom”. Whether through the habit of voicing it, one could say that the square was a figure or a body . . .’.

This column could contain a critique (presumably from an Epicurean perspective) of mathematical teachings or the assignment of certain figures to virtue (3 *δικαιοσύνη*, repeated occurrence of the term *σχῆμα*, and terms for geometrical shapes)—all polemically characterized as [μ]ωροσοφία (9) i.e. ridiculous pseudo-wisdom (rather than, say, half-wisdom or intuitive wisdom). Although Epicurus wrote certain treatises about mathematics, it is uncertain whether there was a genuine Epicurean mathematics as a basis of the theory of minimal parts (i.e. atoms), against other mathematicians who proclaimed the division of numbers, lines, and other geometrical shapes ad infinitum. The Pythagoreans had identified the tetrad ‘four’, as the perfect number, with justice (cf. similar relations claimed to exist between numbers and abstract virtues in Plato’s *Tímaeus*). Saying so does not make it so: ‘one could say that the square was a figure or a body’, although in reality there are no perfect squares. It is further possible that the mathematical terms occur only to demonstrate principles of Epicurean ‘Canonic’ (which might be more appropriate to the general reading context of a letter than to a technical discussion of mathematics): i.e. language (or voice) is not appropriate to express sensory perception and reality; the voice uses the term ‘square’, although there are not any perfect squares in the real world. Our senses can comprehend and see the world, but the voice or the repertoire of language is unable to describe it in an appropriate way, and therefore we should trust more to the senses than to words and ‘dialectic’. (We are grateful to Kilian Fleischer for this suggestion.)

1 *περχ[*: Either *ύ*] | *πέρ χ[* or *ά*] | *περχ[ομ-*, the latter perhaps in the sense ‘deviating’, ‘departing from’; cf. fr. 2 i 10–11 *μώ*] | *ροι* and 9 [μ]ωροσοφία below.

4–5 *ἐνάρι*] *γημα*: suggested by Professor Hammerstaedt.

9 [μ]ωροσοφία(ι): apparently a *lexicis addendum*, although the adjectival form is attested, suggesting a term from popular discourse suitable to a philosophical letter; cf. Lucian, *Alexander* 40 *γενομένης ποτέ ζητήσεως δύο τιὰ τῶν μωροσόφων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἴτε Πυθαγόρου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοι διὰ τὸν χρυχοῦν μηρόν*; Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 137a7 *τοὺς σωκρατικοὺς μαθητὰς διαπαίζων καὶ τὸ τῶν νέων μωρόσοφον οὕτως εἰρήκει*.

13 *κόμα*: This reading was suggested by Professor D’Alessio, who compares Elias in *Ar. Cat.* 235.4 *τρίγωνον γὰρ λέγεται καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ κόμα ἔχον τὸ τρίγωνον ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τετράγωνον*.

16, 21, 25 *λευκο-*. The reference to the colour term is not clear, or why they should be associated with mathematical figures (for the discussion of the latter continues throughout the fragment). It is difficult to connect with the tradition that Pythagoras used to wear white clothes. However, Aristotle *De sensu* 3 discusses harmony between colours and numbers. Perhaps the point was that the shapes associated with mathematical figures do not inhere in objects as qualities or accidents, as in the case of colours like ‘white’.

27 *τῆς διαλέκτου*. Presumably a reference to the use of language by other philosophers to describe mathematical entities.

Fr. 3

This fragment was identified as the same hand and belonging to the same roll as frs. 1–2 on the basis of graphic features and content by Dr W. B. Henry. It is written along a *kollesis*, with an intercolumnium of 1.8 cm. as in fr. 1–2. A bottom margin is visible, to a depth of at least 1.7 cm. There are traces of two letters from a preceding column suit ON or ΩN at the level of l. 14, and a coronis following l. 12, with blank space of almost a line before the start of the next letter (for a centred title or oration date?).

13–14 Presumably the standard epistolary opening: *Ἐπίκο*[υ]ρ[ο]c to NN (and NN or son/daughter of NN?),] | *χαίρει*εω.

D. OBBINK
S. SCHORN

III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

5078. PLATO, *ALCIBIADES I* 105 C–D

35 4B.101/G(1–3)b

4 × 7.8 cm

Later second / early third century

Seventeen lines from the central part of a column of a papyrus roll written along the fibres. No margins are preserved. The back is blank.

For a recent discussion and defence of the dialogue's authenticity, against most modern consensus since Schleiermacher p. 15, see N. Denyer, *Plato: Alcibiades* (2001) 14–26; also A. Carlini, *Platone: Alcibiade; Alcibiade secondo; Ipparco; Rivali* (1964) 47–56. The dialogue was never considered spurious in antiquity (unlike *Alcibiades II*). It was frequently read (see also Carlini, 'Congiunzione e separazione di frammenti di tradizione diretta (su papiro) e di tradizione indiretta', in *Paideia Cristiana: Studi in onore di Mario Naldini* (1994) 213–15) and cited as the work of Plato (cf. Index testimoniorum in Carlini 401–3) and suggested as a compendium and propaedeutic reading for Platonic philosophy. The text was the subject of study, hence giving birth to numerous commentaries (cf. for instance CPF III 5, from the end of the second century). Proclus' and Olympiodorus' are the only commentaries preserved to a considerable extent. On the medieval glosses to the Platonic texts, see D. Cufalo, 'Note sulla tradizione degli scoli platonici', *Studi classici e orientali* 47/3 (2001 [pub. 2004]) 529–68 (esp. 544–51 for *Alcibiades I*). It was ultimately transmitted as a Platonic text by the medieval manuscript tradition, which developed from the organization of the dialogues established in the ninth century, but going back to an archetype stemming from the fourth to the sixth century (see Carlini 7–46 and, for the Platonic manuscript tradition in general, J. Irigoin, *Tradition et critique des textes grecs* (1997) 151–67, who also suggests an archetype from the second century). On the later medieval manuscripts and on the use and (discontinuous) study of Platonic texts in Byzantine times, cf. I. Pérez Martín, 'Estetica e ideologia nei manoscritti bizantini di Platone', in *RSBN* n.s. 42 (2005) 113–35 (with bibliography for studies on Platonic *codices vetustiores*).

The text is written in a neat, rather small, upright example of the 'Formal Mixed' style. A good parallel is GLH 19b (first half of the third century) which could be contemporary or slightly posterior to 5078, which can therefore be assigned to the late second or more probably to the early third century. The strokes are generally thin, and there is no particular attempt to contrast. No reading marks or punctuation occur.

Considering that each line should probably contain an average of 20 letters (for a column width of *c.* 7 cm) and that there are *c.* 3,240 letters in the *Alcibiades I* before the present passage, and supposing that each column is composed of *c.* 30–34

lines for an estimated column height of *c.*20 cm (cf. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 189–91 and 284), the text preserved by **5078** could be the middle or second half of col. v of the roll.

Alcibiades I is preserved by two other papyri apart from this one and **5079**: P. Harr. 12 and LII **3666** (= CPF I.1*** Plato 1 and 2 respectively), initially thought to be part of the same roll, but probably by the same scribe but from different rolls (see LII **3666** introd., Johnson, *Bookrolls* 284; Carlini, ‘Congiunzione e separazione di frammenti’ 209–12, argued against a common scribe).

The papyrus transmits a new reading in l. 11. In l. 10 the word order agrees with the BCD reading.

The text was collated with the OCT and Carlini. The line division is *exempli gratia*.

	· · · ·	
	Cω]κρα[τες τουτ εστι κοι	(105 C)
	προς λογο]ν ον εφη[εθα ερειν	
	διο εμο]ν ουκ απ[αλλατ	
	τη εγω δε ε]ροι γε ερω [ω φιλε	D
5	παι Κλεινι]ου και Δ[
	]ς τουτων [γαρ κοι α	
	παντ]ων τω]ν διανοημα	
	των τ]ελος επιτ]εθηναι	
	ανευ ε]μου αδυν[ατον τοσαυ	
10	την] εγω δυναμ[ιν οιμαι	
	εχει]ν επι τα σα π[ραγματα	
	και ει]ς σε διο δη και [παλαι οιο	
	μαι με]τ[ο]ν θεον ουκ [εαν δια	
	λεγ]εσθαι κοι ον εγω [περι	
15	εμε]νον οπηνικα [εασει	
	ωσπ]ερ γαρ συ ελπιδα[ε	
	εχε]ις εν [τη πολει	
	· · · ·	

1 προς λογο]ν: πρὸς τὸν λόγον Ven. Marc. gr. 186 after correction (from which Ven. Marc. gr. 184). The line is already longer than the average, and spacing does not allow the insertion of the article.

2 ον with MSS: ὅς conjectured by C. G. Cobet, ‘Platonica: Ad Platonis qui fertur Alcibiadem priorem’, *Mnemosyne* n.s. 2 (1874) 375, where he corrected the text based on B and linking ὅς with the previous κοι and translating as *tibi, qui te dicturum aiebas quamobrem a me non discederes*. He argues that ὅν was due to a misunderstanding of the scribe, who therefore thought that πρὸς λόγον was to be explained with a subsequent relative clause. The reading ὅς was accepted by M. Schanz in his edition.

2-4 *ον εφη[εθα ερειν | διο εμο]υ ουκ απ[αλλατ|τη* deleted by Burnet as interpolation. The sentence has the appearance of an explanatory note, but Carlini prints it in his text (supported by Denyer, *Plato: Alcibiades* 97) and, in fact, it seems somehow necessary.

3 [διο] restored from the OCT with BT Procl. and Olymp.: δι' ὄν in the margin of Par. gr. 1808.

4 δε BCD: δῆ PT Procl. and Olymp.

5-6 Δ[|]c. Δεινομάχης DTW and Olymp.: Δεινομήνης BCPT²W² and Procl. There is no evidence as to which of the two readings the papyrus had.

8 *επιτ[εθηναι* with BCDPTW: *επιθειναι* Procl.

9 *αδυν[ατον*. Olympiodorus attests *ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν* against all MSS. There is no space in the lacuna for the unnecessary *ἐστίν*.

10 *εγω δυναμ[ω οιμαι* with BCD: *ἐγὼ οἶμαι δύναμιν* PTW Procl.

11 *επι: εἰς* MSS. The use of *ἐπί* avoids the unnecessary repetition of *εἰς* and produces a *variatio* in the passage. The expression *ἐπὶ τὰ (δεῖνος) πράγματα* occurs five times in Plato (*Cra.* 415b5, 424e4, 433a8; *Grg.* 515b8; *R.* 494b9), whereas *εἰς τὰ (δεῖνος) πράγματα* is only found in *Grg.* 491b1 and 491c7, and in both cases it is dependent on the adjective *φρόνιμος* (no variants are recorded by the manuscript tradition for those passages). Conversely, in the Greek authors *εἰς (τὰ) πράγματα* is far commoner than *ἐπὶ (τὰ) πράγματα*—moreover, in documentary papyri *ἐπὶ (τὰ) πράγματα* is never found. A passage similar to the Platonic one is found in Andocides *De mysteriis* 50 (written in 400/399 BC, before *Alcibiades I*), although the orator does not repeat the preposition: *προθυμότατος εἰς ἐὲ καὶ τὰ καὶ πράγματά ἐμι*.

M. C. D. PAGANINI

5079. PLATO, ALCIBIADES I 109 A-B, 109 B

38 3B.80/K(1-2)a

9.5 × 8.5 cm

Mid-late second century

A fragment of a roll (the back is blank) containing parts of two columns from Plato's *Alcibiades I*. Both columns are quite narrow, 9-11 letters across (5.5-6 cm), with 3 mm between each line, while the intercolumnium measures a little more than 2.5 cm. Because i 5 to ii 8 comprises c.232 letters, the original column height is estimated at 23 lines (c.17 cm). It can be calculated that 11 lines are missing between col. i and col. ii. For such a format, cf. P. Gen. 264-7 or XI 1364 (all of Antiphon).

The script is formal round capital, with serifs, consistently executed. The Hawara Homer = *GMAW*² 13, assigned to the later half of the second century, where dating is also discussed, is an excellent parallel. No φ or ψ are preserved, but otherwise strict bilinearity is maintained. The letters are large, upright, and symmetrical, and except for ι, written in a 5-mm square. Shading contrasts are visible between downward and horizontal strokes, or again between left-to-right downward strokes, versus those down and to the left; cf. κ and λ. μ always touches the bottom, and the horizontal stroke in ε and θ always touches the bowl, rarely crossing over it.

Punctuation is by middle stop at i 6 to mark a weak break. In the same line, a change of interlocutor is marked by a blank letter space. The elision of the final alpha in *ἐρχόμεθα* at i 2 is effected but not marked. There is no opportunity to

determine the scribe's practice regarding iota adscript. Col. ii observes Maas's law, leaning slightly to the right. A line-filler at i 7 is rather cursively drawn.

The text has been collated with Carlini's edition (1964). The two other published papyrus fragments of this dialogue, P. Harr. 1 12 (=CPF I.1*** Plato 1) and LII 3666 (=CPF I.1*** Plato 2) do not overlap with the papyrus. XIII 1609, a published commentary on *Alcibiades I*, does not involve the portion of the dialogue surviving here. The papyrus does not offer any new readings.

Col. i

Col. ii

.
πα]θη. μ. [α ερχ (109 A)	α[υτο τουτο αλ (109 B)
ο]μεθεις το πο	λα [μην τουτο
λ]εμειν· και οτι	γε [διαφερει ο
α]υτο ονομα	λο[ν τε και παν
5 ζ]οντες ερχο	5 τι ου [ν αθηναι
με]θα εγωγε· B	οις ς[υ προς πο
οτι γε εξα]πα>	τερο[υς κυμ
τωμενοι]	βουλ[ευσεις
.	πολ[εμειν τους
	10 αδικο[υντας
	η το[υς

Col. i

7 [γε]. Spacing cannot determine whether the papyrus agrees with PTW against BCD omitting the word. If γε is written, the line is average in length. If it is omitted, then 7 will be the shortest line in the column by one letter, for which the space-filler compensates.

Col ii

4-5 ολο[ν τε και παν]|τι with MSS: ὅλων καὶ παντὶ in Proclus' paraphrase.

S. TREPANIER

5080. [PLATO], *ALCIBIADES II* 146 B-C

72.7(e)

5.1 × 3.6 cm

Early third century

Ten fragmentary lines from a column of a papyrus roll; left and right part missing. They probably come from the top of the column, since there are 4 mm of papyrus without letter trace (surface not damaged) above the top surviving line, slightly larger than the 3 mm interlinear space. The average line length is 23 letters (c.6.7 cm). No left or right margins are preserved. The back is blank.

The pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades II* was regularly included in Plato's corpus, both in the medieval tradition (although it is omitted from the important manuscript W, which contains all the other dialogues from tetralogies I–VII) and by modern editors. Although the work was included in Thrasyllus' tetralogies, it was already suspected in antiquity as spurious; Athenaeus reports that it was attributed to Xenophon (Athen. XI.114.17–21). The dialogue was considered authentic by Diogenes Laertius (D. L. 3.51).

The script is in the 'Severe Style', sloping slightly to the right. The writing looks fluid and experienced and is very tiny (the average height of the letters being only 2 mm), and the strokes are very thin. ε θ ο c are noticeably small-sized, while there is a slight tendency to broaden other letters (not always to the same extent). Good examples are: η (3), κ (4), ν (at 2 and 3 it is nearly as broad as μ), and π (8). Very restrained ornamentation may be recognized in the forms of λ and λ, showing a curved foot in their right end in most of the cases. The spacing between the letters is very regular; in the lower part of the column, however, the letters seem to be closer together.

The writing shows some similarities with LXII 4311 and XVII 2098 = GLH 19b, for which the mid third century is a *terminus ante quem* from the text on the back, but 5080 seems slightly earlier. Note μ, with its low belly, which however does not reach the bottom completely, as well as ω, whose middle upright seems to come up to a remarkable height, in contrast to the more flattened forms generally seen in the third century.

Change of speaker is marked by dicolon in 5, where the line-beginning is missing and the presence of a paragraphus cannot be verified. In 3, a horizontal line above η is probably a grave accent, and a circumflex occurs at 7. *Scriptio plena* seems not to have been the rule, as 2 clearly indicates: thus elision may be postulated, but definitely not marked, also for 9. Iota adscript is written in the only instance where it is required (10).

The textual basis for the supplement of the column is Burnet's OCT (1901). In 5 the papyrus agrees with B (with wrong accent and breathing, corrected by its more recent hand, b) against T. The papyrus offers a new reading in 7, for which the text transmitted by the medieval manuscripts has been rejected by the editors, but the reading of 5080 is not an improvement. The only other papyrus from *Alcibiades II* published so far is LII 3667 (CPF I.1*** Plato 3), assigned to the third century, with which the papyrus does not overlap.

η]μαc ειδ[εναι η τω (146 B)

οντι ειδ]εναι τ[ο]υθ ο αν πρ[ο]χειρωc
 μελλ]ωμεν η πραττειν [η λε
 γειν εδ]οκει: ουκουv καν [μεν
 5 πραττηι α τι]c οιδεν η α δο[κει ειδε

ναι πα]ρεπηται δε το ωφ[ελιμωσ
 και λυς]ιτελοντωσ ημῖν[εζειν
 και τη]πολει και αυτ[ον αυτωι C
 πωσ γαρ ου]εαν δε γ ο[ιμαι τ ανα
 10 ντια τουτων ουτε τ]ηι πο[λει

5 η α with b (ἦ ᾶ): ἦ ᾶ B (obviously erroneous): ἦ T. Due to the absence of breathings and accents in the papyrus, it is impossible to determine to which of the two hands of B our reading corresponds. It is reasonable to assume that B's reading is a simple mistake, due either to its own scribe or to one of its ancestors' during the process of transcription into minuscule.

7 ημιν: ἡμᾶς MSS. Assuming that the word εζειν followed, the papyrus text confirms the doubts raised by Dobrce and Ast against ἡμᾶς (Ast deleted it). The juncture λυσιτελούντωσ εζειν is a *hapax* here, but comparison with ἔχω + adverb in other cases shows that it must have the meaning 'to be useful'. ἡμᾶς cannot be linked directly with this construction, so it lacks a verb indicating judgement. Things do not become better, however, with the papyrus' reading ημιν, for it alters the balance of the whole sentence. It is not taken up later in 10 (= 146 c3) which clearly shows the duality of τῆ πόλει – αὐτῶ. So there are two possibilities: (a) in the papyrus ημιν was not followed by εζειν but another verb (expressing 'to act?'), or (b) ἡμᾶς is an old corruption (a marginal note dropped into the text?) that turns up in the medieval manuscript tradition. The papyrus could imply that ἡμᾶς existed earlier.

A mark over ν—tempting as it is to be seen as a critical sign introducing a variant reading or deleting an unsuitable one in such a troubling passage—is most probably a circumflex, the descending part of which is missing and mistakenly placed over ν instead of ι.

9–10 The text transmitted in the medieval tradition is slightly too long to fit in the available space.

A. SCHATZMAN

5081. PLATO, *CHARMIDES* 166 C, 167 A

31 4B.16/K(1–2)a

7.9 × 5.6 cm

Second/third century

Fragment of a papyrus roll containing remains of two columns; the back is blank. The first column contains the ends of 13 lines, the second beginnings of 9 lines. The width of a column can be estimated as 6 cm; it ranges from 17 to 22 letters a line. The reconstructed column height is 54 lines in 23.8 cm. The intercolumnium is 1.5 cm; no margins are preserved. Col. ii is sloping approximately 5° to the left. The lines look ascending. The whole dialogue as preserved by the medieval tradition would have covered 35 columns, of which our fragment gives parts of cols. xx and xxi, with 45 lines between the two preserved pieces.

The text is written along the fibres in the 'Severe Style', sloping to the right. γ once projects under the line (i 4), ρ never. There are two forms of the narrow ε, the lunated version in two strokes (i 12, ii 13) and the angular one (e.g. i 10), both with short middle stroke. Close parallels are XXII 2320 and XXIII 2361.

The diacritical signs used are rough breathings of form 1 in *GMAW*² 11 (i 7 and 12), accents (acute at i 3, 4 and circumflex together with a rough breathing at i 12), apostrophe to separate words at i 5, high stop (i 3, 6) and low stop (i 10), paragraphi (ii 12, 13) indicating change of speaker, and line-filler (i 6). For the preserved part the division at line-ends is syllabic, and reconstruction suggests that it was also the case in col. ii. The spacing in ii 13 leads to the assumption that, in addition to the paragraphi, a blank of two letters was used to indicate change of speaker in the line. In i 13 this would also be possible. The scribe elides tacitly (ii 13 and maybe in ii 14), but *scriptio plena* also occurs (i 4 and i 5, perhaps also in i 13). No opportunity occurs to determine the presence of iota adscript.

The text is collated with images of B, T, and W, and supplemented from Burnet's OCT (1903). In the preserved parts there are only spelling variants, in the second column, however, there are two instances where spacing suggests that the papyrus had a shorter reading (ii 10, 11).

Col. i

αυτης τ]αις [αλλαις το δ 166 C
 ουκ εστιν] ουτως α[λλαι μεν
 αλλαι π]ασαι· ἀλλ[ου ειςιν ε
 πιστημ]αι ξαυτων δέ ου η
 5 δε μονη] των τε αλλων' ε
 πιστημ]ων επισ[τ]ημη· ε>
 στι] και αυτη αυτης και
 ταυτα] σε πολλου δει λεληθε
 ναι αλ]λα γαρ οιμαι ο αρτι
 10 ουκ εφ]εσθα ποιειν. τουτο
 ποιεις ε]με γαρ επιχειρεις
 ελεγχειν] ξασας περι ου ο λο
 γος εστιν] οιον ην δ εγω ποι
 [εις

Col. ii

κ[αι οιεται ειπερ οιδεν και (167 A)
 τ[ι αυτος οιεται μεν ειδεναι
 οιδεν δ ου των δ αλλων
 ουδ]εις και εστιν δη τουτο το
 σωφ]ρονειν τε και σωφροσυ
 10 νη κ[αι το εαυτον γιγνω
 σκειν] το ειδεναι α τε οιδεν
 αρα τα]υτα εστιν α λεγεις
 εγωγ εφ]η παλιω τοιουν
 ην δε ε]γω

Col. i

1 τ]αις. The traces surviving could correspond either to *ταις* or *ἀλλαις*. Spacing suggests that *ταις* stood in this place of the line.

4 δέ. An acute accent would not be expected here, unless there was punctuation after *δε*. The mark, over *δ* rather than over *ε*, could be a correction in the form of an apostrophe marking that elision should be effected between *δε* and *ουκ*.

10 εφ]εσθα: ἔφησθα MSS. The upper part of *ε* is clearly visible. An interchange between *ε* and *η* is common (see Gignac, *Grammar* i. 242–4).

Col. ii

6 τ[ι αυτοσ: Spacing seems to exclude the possibility that the papyrus could have read Bekker's conjecture αῡ, but αῡ τις (Buttmann) or αῡτόσ of BTW would fit the line.

10 There is not enough space for the transmitted text; ε̄αυτὸν or αῡτὸν instead of ε̄αυτὸν αῡτὸν would fit the line.

11 κκειω[. There is not enough space for the OCT text τὸ εἰδέναι ἃ τε οἶδεν καὶ ἃ μὴ οἶδεν. The first part of the clause, τὸ εἰδέναι ἃ τε οἶδεν, would fit the line. Omission by homoioteleuton conveniently explains the discrepancy in the papyrus: after having written the first οἶδεν, the scribe then mistook it for the second one and continued with ἀρα ταυτα, omitting καὶ ἃ μὴ οἶδεν.

14 δε̄ ε̄[γω. Only part of an upper horizontal is preserved before the papyrus breaks off. It looks slightly curved and should therefore rather be ε̄ than τ.

H. ESSLER

5082. PLATO, *CHARMIDES* 172 C-D, 173 A-B

58/B(72) part

4.3 × 7.5 cm

Third century

A fragment of a papyrus roll containing parts of two consecutive columns of *Charmides*, with an intercolumnium of c.1.5 cm. The back is blank. The line length is 17–23 letters (5.8–6 cm), with c.50 lines per column (c.20 cm). The text lost before the first column would occupy c.31 columns, and the whole dialogue would need c.40 columns occupying 2.8–3 metres. There was then room for **5086** (*Laches*) in the same roll, which according to calculations would be contained in c.54 columns of approximately 4 metres, constituting thus a composite roll.

The hand is a flowing, medium-sized, undecorated specimen of the 'Formal Mixed' style, of the general type commonly referred to as the sloping oval. The contrast between broad and narrow letters is not particularly marked, although κ, λ, ν, and ω are always wide. ο is variable in size and spacing; μ has a curve that goes halfway down the line of writing, and the base of ω is almost flat. XXVII **2458**, assigned to the third century, is similar but more rapidly written. II **223** = *GLH* 21a of the early part of that century is also similar but considerably sloppier and more angular.

There are no breathings, accents, or punctuation except a misplaced forked paragraphus below ii 3. Correction in i 14 has been made by the main scribe. Some critical scrutiny has been accorded the text. There are critical signs in the margin of what would have been lines 12–13 in col. ii and an ancora mark, perhaps serving as a directional symbol to the misplaced forked paragraphus in the new section (col. ii 3–4).

The text has been collated with and supplemented from the edition of Burnet's OCT. This is the second papyrus of the *Charmides* to come to light. In so far as one can judge from so small a text, the papyrus sides twice with the united evidence of the direct tradition (BTW) as against that of the indirect tradition, mainly

Stobaeus (ii 6, 9–10) and once with Stobaeus as against the reading of the direct tradition (ii 1–2). Spacing considerations suggest that the reading *εἰδέναι* at 172 c8 (i 4–5), which many editors from Heusde on have deleted against the testimony of all manuscripts, was already present in antiquity. The papyrus also confirms a modern conjecture at 173 B5 (ii 11).

Col. i

]δ[ω (172 C)
 μεν γαρ ει βουλει κυχ]ωρη
]
]..
 5 αρχ]ης
 ετιθεμεθα σωφροσυ]νην
 ειναι το ειδεναι α τε οι]δεν
]..
]..
 10]
]
 ον]ησει
 τοιουτον ον α γαρ νυν]δη
 ελεγομεν ως μεγα αν ειη]] [ν]] α
 15 γαθον η σωφροσυνη ει τ]οι
 ουτον εστιν ιδ]
]
 K]ρι
 [τια

Col. ii

κατα τα[ς επιστημας παν 173 B
 τα πρατ[τοιτο και ουτε τις
 κυβερν[ητης φακων ειναι
 5 ων δε ο[υ εξαπατωι αν ημας
 ουτε ιατρο[ς ουτε στρατηγος
 ουτε αλλος ο[υδεις προσποι
 ουμενος [τι ειδεναι ο μη οι
 δεν λαν[θανοι αν εκ δη του
 των ου[τως εχοντων αλ
 10 λο αν η[μιν τι συμβαινοι
 η υγιες[ιν
 ω [
 ς [

Col. i

14 Nu appears to have been cancelled by a diagonal stroke, the upper right end of which is visible to the right of the alpha.

Col. ii

1–2 παν]]τα with Stobaeus: *ἄν* BT: *πάντα ἄν* conjectured by Burnet.

3–4 Perhaps the scribe was copying from an exemplar with longer lines and mistook the location of the paragraph ending. Approximately 2 mm to the left of the forked paragraphus there is a small ancora sign pointing upwards, which was intended to help the reader to relate a note to its correct point of reference. But it is impossible to specify either the note (which will have been lost with the top or bottom margin) or the point of reference (since the text preserved offers no clue as to the meaning of the ancora to be discerned), unless perhaps it has something to do with the misplaced

forked paragraphus. For the use of the ancora mark, see K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries* (1977) 121–4.

4 ἐξαπατῶ ἄν τ: ἐξαπατᾶν B: ὦν δὲ οὐ, ἐξαπατῶ ἄν ἡμᾶς was omitted in Stobaeus.

6 ο[υδεις with BTW: τις οὐδεὶς Stobaeus.

9–10 αλ]λο αν η[μιν τι κυμβαῖνοι] with BTWQ: ἄλλο τι ἄν ἡμῖν κυμβαῖνοι Stobaeus.

11 η υγιεζ[ιν with Heindorf (conjectured): μὴ ὑγιέειν Stobaeus: ὑγιέειν BTWQ.

12–13 There are two signs opposite what would have been ll. 12–13, if the lines had not been lost. The first looks like tops of three verticals, as of ω; the second looks like a cursive forward-falling c with a horizontal line drawn beneath it. If the critical signs put in the margin are stichometrical, they are meant to indicate a number or they may alternatively suggest that something in the lines now lost has received (or requires) attention or marginal comment.

M. SALEMENOU

5083. PLATO, *CRATYLUS* 423 E

38 3B.79/H(1)a

5.1 × 1.9 cm

Third / early fourth century

One fragment from a papyrus roll, written along the fibres and blank on the back, together with a detached fragment with an undistinguishable trace. With an average of 9 letters per line or 3.5 cm, the column is very narrow but not unparallelled (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 101–8). A relatively broad intercolumnium of 1.6 cm survives, probably slightly wider in full length, amounting to half the column width. The column height is uncertain.

The hand is of the informal mixed type, upright and fair-sized. There is marked contrast between broad letters such as ν, κ, and χ and the narrow c and ρ, typical of the ‘Severe Style’. The ω with flat bottom is also characteristic. The script is similar to XI **1358** (= *GBHBP* 1b), dated in the early fourth century on the basis of third-century official accounts on its back.

There are no breathings or accents and no evidence of punctuation and lectional marks. Iota adscript is written in the only instance where it is required (line 1). The papyrus offers no new readings and does not involve passages of textual disagreement in the medieval tradition. It is only the second fragment of the *Cratylus* from Oxyrhynchus. XXXIII **2663** preserves *Cratylus* 405c, clearly from a different copy and not overlapping with **5083**. The text has been collated with the OCT (1995).

δο]]κ[ε]ι ζ[οι ειναι ε

(423 E)

κατωι ωσπ[ερ

και χρω[[ν]]μα

και α ννν[δη

. . . .

3 The last surviving letter in the line seems to have been crossed out with a cancellation stroke almost reaching to the upper line. The cancelled letter seems to be a ν or μ (no other μ survives), with its left vertical stroke and a clearly visibly diagonal descending not very sharply. The crossed-out letter may have been cancelled because it was wrong (if it is a ν), or perhaps it was mistakenly written twice (if a μ).

Two traces of ink between ω and the cancelled letter look like dots, perhaps a dicolon, but it is not possible to explain its presence in the middle of a word. Possibly, it is accidental spilling of ink.

J. BARTON

5084. PLATO, *CRITO* 43 B, 45 B-E, 45 E-46 A, 46 C-D

88/287 part

Fr. 2 5.1 × 21.8 cm

Second century
Plate I

Four fragments from a roll written along the fibres with blank back. Fr. 1 must have belonged to the first column of the dialogue. Fr. 2 and 3 + 4 represent parts of two consecutive columns no more than three columns (100–110 lines) further along than fr. 1. Fr. 2 is the most extensive and consists of the greater part of a column with lower margin (2.6 cm). Fr. 3 contains the beginning of the column immediately following fr. 2 with an upper margin (1.2 cm), and fr. 4 probably comes from near the bottom of that same column (about 27 lines down) or the beginning of the following column. Because the top of the column of fr. 2 has not been preserved, it is impossible to state the column's height, but in width it must have contained an average of 30 letters and measured about 8 cm; this is slightly longer than the typical range of widths of prose texts written on papyrus (cf. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 101–15). The roll, or the section thereof containing *Crito*, must have included a minimum of 20 columns.

The text is written in a medium-to-small upright hand of the informal type identical to that of **4935**; see **4935** introd. for a description. The only lectional signs in the papyrus are two diaereses over ι and υ respectively (fr. 2.5, 29) and also a high punctuation stop (fr. 2.25). The change of speaker from Crito to Socrates in 43 B10 does not occur within the preserved text of fr. 1, so it is impossible to say whether and how this was indicated. The scribe often wrote iota adscript, but not always (fr. 2.4, 31, both endings of the second person subjunctive active).

This is the first published papyrus of *Crito*, according to the on-line catalogue of Mertens-Pack³. The text has been collated and partly supplemented with the new OCT (1995). The portions of Plato's text preserved do not diverge from the medieval transmission. Because no line-beginnings or endings are in evidence in any of the fragments and line divisions are therefore not known, I have preferred not to restore fully the articulated transcript. A letter count between successive lines does not suggest that anything of significance has been omitted from or added to the paradosis.

πα]γτος του βιου επ[ιμελεισθαι
 εγ]ωγε και ὑπερ ζο[υ
 30 τω]ντων επιτηδ[ειων E
 δο]ξη απαν το πρα[γμα
 αναν]δρραι τινι τηι ημ[ετεραι
] και η εισοδος [τ]η[ς
 δικαστη]ριον ως ειση[λθεν
 35] και αυτος ο α[γων
] και το τελευτα[ιον
 καταγ]ελως της πρ[αξεως

Fr. 3

αναν]δρραι τ[ηι
 η]μας δ[οκειν 46 A
 ο]υδε [
] ει τ[ι
 5] ταυτ[α
] κα[κωι

Fr. 4

. . . .
]υ λε[γεισ
 καλ]ως ε[λεγετο 46 D
] δει τω[ν
 δε]ε ου [
 5 κ]αλ[ως
 []
 ελε]γε[το

Fr. 1

3 ννν with β T and editors: νννί WSV.

Fr. 2

12 σπευδει]ς with MSS and editors. Stephanus conjectured σπεύδειν supposedly to maintain parallelism with the preceding infinitive (ἐπιχειρεῖν) dependent on δοκεῖς: οὐδὲ δίκαιόν μοι δοκεῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμα, αὐτὸν προδοῦναι, ἔξδὸν σωθῆναι, καὶ τοιαῦτα σπεύδεις περὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἄπερ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου σπεύσαιέν τε καὶ ἔσπευσαν. This intervention does not seem necessary, however, and is not commended by the papyrus.

13–14 Letter-count suggests that the papyrus had ἔσπευσαν (with the majority of MSS) in the

unpreserved portion of the lines rather than ἐσπούδασαν (SV). The former is undoubtedly the correct reading, since the verb is coordinated with σπεύσαιεν (see previous note).

A. BENAÏSSA

5085. PLATO, *EUTHYDEMUS* 286 D, 286 E

383B.79/J(1-3)d part

8.5 × 10.1 cm

Third century

Three fragments showing parts of two columns from a papyrus roll. The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank. Assuming no major textual discrepancy in the lost parts of cols. i and ii, the column height can be calculated at c.17 cm, occupied by c.25 lines; column width will have been 5.8–6 cm with an average of 16 letters to the line; intercolumnium of approx. 2 cm survives. It can be estimated that the whole work would have occupied c.130 cols., requiring a roll of approx. 10 m in length.

The script is in a fair-sized formal rounded style. It is dated by comparison with XVII 2075 = *GMAW*² 11 (assigned to the third century) and P. Ryl. I.16 = *GLH* 22b, on the verso of which is a letter dated AD 255/6. The script generally maintains bilinearity, broken by ρ, τ, γ, φ, and ψ. Some letters show slight flourishes, such as γ. Upper end of uprights of μ and ν present tiny leftward hooks. Letters of interest include μ, written in four strokes; the loop of φ is diamond-shaped; full, rounded ω. There is some contrast between thick and thin pen strokes. The left margin of column ii shifts to the left (Maas's law).

Space-fillers are found at the ends of i 3, 7. Punctuation marks are used by the original scribe, yet erratically, often seeming to do no more than occasionally mark word division: there is a middle point at ii 9, a low point at ii 4. A possibly misplaced dicolon at ii 14 does not coincide with the change of speaker, but another one at i 1 does (with no line-beginning preserved), as does the paragraphos in ii 10 (with no dicolon where it is expected). Thus, there is no evidence of their combined use. In col. ii there is a series of dots at the beginning of lines that presumably marked the alignment of the column; on alignment dots, see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 91–9. At ii 13 there is a trace of a marginal siglum, a forward slash, which may have indicated a textual comment (probably on this roll, rather than in a separate commentary), perhaps noting the variant ταχεως for παχεως or vice versa, or marking an error in the missing portion of the line; for more uses of the siglum see McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (1992) 17–18. Elision effected but not marked at i 4 and ii 4, but not in ii 5.

The papyrus offers two new readings in ii 5 and 12. It agrees with MS T against BW in three cases (i 5–6, ii 9, and 9–10), but gives support to B's reading against T in ii 6.

The text has been collated with Burnet's OCT (1903) and Méridier's Budé (1949) and supplemented *exempli gratia* from the OCT.

Col. i

το παραπαν ουκ εφη]: (286 D)
 ουδ αρα α]μα[θι
 α ουδ αμαθ]εις αν<
 θρωποι η ο]υ τουτ αν
 5 ειη αμαθια ει]περ ει
 η το ψευδεςθαι] των<
 πραγματων π]ανυ γε·
 εφη αλλα τουτο]ουκ
].

Col. ii

λο]]χο[ν εξελεγξαι μηδε (286 E)
 γος ψευδ[ομενου ου
 κ] εξτιν εφ[η ο ευθυδη
 μο]ς. ουδ αρ[α εκελευ
 5 εν] εμε εφ[ην εγω
 νυ]νδη Διον[υσοδωρος
 εξ]ελεγξαι [το γαρ μη
 . ον πως αν τ[ις κελευ
 . και ω· Ευθυδη[με ην δ ε
 10 . γω τα σο[φ]α [ταυτα και
 . τα ευ εχον]τα ου πανυ τι
 κατ[αμ]ανθα[νω αλ
 / λα [π]αχεως π[ως εννω
 ιως μεν ο]ν: φορ[τικωτε
 15 ρον τι ερ]ησομα[ι αλλα

Col. i

5-6 ει]περ ει η with T: ει παρείη BW (W¹ corrects ε interlinearly above α).

Col. ii

2-3 ουκ] εξτιν. The division of ουκ between two lines would have been odd. However, the whole word ουκ would not fit in 3 before εξτιν, since there is only space for one or two letters (although

with an upsilon as narrow as in *ευ* at ii 11, it is not impossible). Even if *ουκ* is all written in 3 or in the case of a total omission of the word, the problem is not solved, as 2 would be left untenably short. The restoration of *κ* at the beginning of 3 is therefore very doubtful.

4–5 *εκελευεν*] *εμε εφ[ην: ἐκέλευον ἔφη* BT: *ἐκέλευεν ἔφη* conjectured by Hermann and adopted by most other editors: *ἐκέλευε φήμ'* Badham. This passage is clearly ambiguous in meaning, resulting in the ungrammatical and nonsensical *ἐκέλευον* found in all medieval manuscripts. There is no way to confirm whether the papyrus attests this reading or confirms Hermann's conjecture *ἐκέλευον*, but the presence of *εμε* indicates that *εκελευεν* was written and *εμε* serves as its object, probably to clarify the meaning. The insertion of *εμε* is in *scriptio plena* contrary to the scribe's practice in the rest of the surviving text.

6 *Διον[υσοδωρος* with B: *ὁ Διονυσόδωρος* TW.

7 *εξ]ελεγξαι* with MSS: *ἐξέλεγξον* Badham.

8–9 *κελευσαι* with T: *κελευσαι οὐδὲ κελεύεις ὅτι* BW: *κελευσαι ἐν δὲ κελεύεις ὅτι* W *γραφεται*. BW also mark a change of speaker after *κελευσαι*.

9–10 *ω· Ευθυδη[με ην δ ε]γω* with T: *ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Ευθύδημε* BW.

11 The line is restored from the OCT as *ου πανν τι* with TW against B, which omits *ου*. Speculative restoration allows room for *ου*.

12 *κατ[αμ]ανθα[νω: μανθάνω* MSS with all editors. *κατ* is clearly visible at the beginning of the line. *α* and *μ* are missing, but what follows is certainly in accordance with *μανθάνω*, attested by all manuscripts.

13 The papyrus could be restored to either the *παχέως* with W or *ταχέως* with BT. *παχέως* is printed following Burnet's text.

J. BARTON

5086. PLATO, *LACHES* 179 C–D, 180 A–B

58/B(72)b (part)

6.8 × 9.5 cm

Third century

Two fragments from the same roll as **5082** (*Charmides*) preserving a total of 37 lines from *Laches*. Between the two fragments approximately 10 lines must have intervened, bringing the total number of lines to 47, which can be still accommodated in a single column according to calculations for **5082**. There is no way to determine whether the two fragments are from the same or two consecutive columns, but the way they are broken, both preserving the right part of lines with a portion of the right margin, might suggest that they are the upper and lower part of the same column.

A high stop is written in fr. 1.4 to denote a short pause and possibly another one in fr. 2.6. Iota adscript is written in fr. 1.6. There are no other opportunities to observe its use in the manuscript.

There is slight overlapping with LII **3671** (M–P³ 1407.4) at fr.1.1. The papyrus offers no new readings. Five other papyri of *Laches* survive, including **5087** (M–P³ 1407.4, 1408–10). Burnet's OCT (1903) has been used for the collation of the text. The line division is arbitrary.

]...[c.10
 10]...[c.7
 την δ]ιανοιαν και κοι
 νωνει]ν ετοιμος ομαι
 δε και Λα]χητα τον δ[ε] αλη B
 θη γαρ οiei] ω Νικια [ωc ο] γε
 15 ελεγεν ο Λυσιμαχος αρτι πε]ρι

Fr. 1

5-6 πολεμωι η]ρρασαντο[[και οca εν with BWt: omitted in T.

6 ει]ρηνηι. The iota adscript seems squeezed between the η and the δ. It was possibly added later.

12 τρυςδε with BWQ: τοιςδε T.

22 [μη] with BTW but omitted in Q. The line is already short. Although the scribe is not particularly careful about his line length, it is improbable that μη is missing.

Fr. 2

2 χ]ρηναι with TW: χρῆναι ἦ B.

6 επ]ιτηδευμα. A trace from a stroke at the top right side of λ seems to be an acute accent, but it is not required there. The space between λ (from επιτηδευμα) and the other λ (from και) is wider than required for the κ. Perhaps a high stop is written to mark the short pause, as in fr. 1.4.

8-10 The surface of the papyrus is much damaged here, and only traces survive from an inestimable number of letters. The traces are undistinguishable except for the lower right bottom extremity of a diagonal and the lower part of an upright in l. 9.

M. SALEMENOU

5087. PLATO, *LACHES* 180 E, 182 B-C (MORE OF LII **3671**)

51 4B.18/G(1-3)c

Fr. 2 3.0 × 2.7 cm

Late second century

Two fragments from a papyrus roll written along the fibres; the back is blank. The largest, fr. 2, preserves 11 lines of the left-hand portion of a single column. Surface fibres appear to be worn off from large portions of its lower half; the depth of the lower margin is consequently uncertain. Fr. 1 preserves parts of 4 lines from the middle of a column from 182 B-C. Traces in fr. 2 correspond to 180 E, although reconstruction is not certain. Close similarities in hand, format, and size suggest that fr. 1-2 came from the same roll as LII **3671**, another papyrus of the *Laches* (179 B-C).

The reconstruction of the roll is problematic, due to the fact that no full column or two consecutive ones survive. It is therefore impossible to calculate the exact number of lines per column. However, Carlini (*CPF* I.1*** Plato 21) notes that the text preserved in **3671** is very close to the beginning of the dialogue and

therefore calculates the column to contain 52–3 lines (assuming that the dialogue begins at the top of a column, even if another dialogue precedes the *Laches*; cf. **5082** + **5086**). If this is the case, then fr. 1 comes from col. v and fr. 2 from col. vi or vii of the *Laches*. Although Carlini's argument about a 52-line column on account of close interlinear spacing is valid, it is also possible that **3671** preserves col. iii of a shorter roll with *c.*26 lines per column. In this case **5087** shows cols. viii (fr. 1) and ix or x (fr. 2).

The lines preserved on the fragments have a length of 17–23 letters. The hand is of the 'Severe Style', sloping to the right with wide letters (μ π η ν) contrasting with narrower ones (ε ο ρ ς). ο and ς ride high above the notional baseline, while the vertical stroke of τ and sometimes that of γ extend below the baseline. The horizontal stroke of τ tilts sometimes slightly downward (fr. 2.4, 6). The horizontal stroke of π sometimes extends through the left-hand vertical stroke. Letters occasionally connect (e.g. τ and ω 1.2, 2.6; ε and ν 2.3). The script is rather uniform, but all letters that can be verified are written in the same way as in **3671** and are of the same size. In addition, both papyri have an average of 20 letters per line, and line-spacing is 4 mm. Due to the small amount of text preserved, **5087** offers no opportunity to compare the scribe's practice regarding lectional marks with that of **3671** (where punctuation, breathings, and a diaeresis are observed). **3671** is assigned to the end of the second century. There is no opportunity to determine whether iota adscript was written. A correction in fr. 2.10 seems to be itself a mistake.

Fr. 2 supports T against BWQ at 7–8 and BTQ against W at 4. Four other papyri of the *Laches* survive in addition to LII **3671** + **5087** and **5086**; see M–P³ 1407.4, 1408–10. The text was collated with, and supplemented *exempli gratia* from, Burnet's OCT (1903). Badham's edition (London 1865) was also consulted.

Fr. 1

. . . .
] . . .
λε]χοντων (180 E)
c.12 πρ]ος αλλη
λουc c.10] . . . [
5] . . . [
. . . .

Fr. 2

. . . .
περ[ι τας ταξεις και ταυτα (182 B)
λαβ[ων και φιλοτιμηθεις
εν αυτοι[ς επι παν αν το πε

ρι τας στρατ[ηγιας ορμησειε
 5 και ηδη δηλον[οτι τα του C
 των εχομενα[και μαθη
 ματα παντα [και επιτη
 δευματα και κ[αλα και
 πολλου αξια ανδ[ρι μαθειν
 10 [[τ]]ε και επιτηδευ[σαι ων
 καθηγη]ς[αιτ αν τουτο

Fr. 1

1 The two larger traces of the three, a vertical and a cross stroke, admit several possibilities (π or τ).

2-3 Reconstruction from 180 E is strained but possible, given that ντω of line 2 are positioned directly over λλ of line 3 and assuming an average count in fr. 1-2 of approximately 19-20 letters per line. If the right margin follows αλλη in line 3, then the space before πρ]ος would be too short to accommodate τα γαρ μειρακια ταδε (codd.), and the text at this point is therefore uncertain.

Fr. 2

4 [ορμησειε] supplemented with Burnet and BTQ: ἀρμόσειε W.

4-5 If the missing part of the line transmitting the medieval text is intact, then the scribe wrote 23 letters on line 4, more than he did on average (19-20), perhaps producing an uneven right margin. Lines 11-15 of 3671 indicate that the scribe did not always maintain evenness at the end of the lines.

5 και ηδη δηλον with MSS: ὀρμήσειε· δῆλον δ' Badham.

7-8 επιτη]δευματα with T: ἐπιτηδεύματα πάντα BWQ.

10 [[τ]]ε. τ appears to have been mistakenly crossed out with a diagonal stroke. These lines appear to have been written in a finer and lighter stroke than the preceding lines.

11 καθηγη]ς[αιτ. This curved trace might be the upper stroke of ο, c, or ε, but the horizontal position of this trace within the line, which would allow for approximately 5-6 letters preceding, suggests c.

B. H. WEAVER

5088. PLATO, *MENO* 72 E, 73 A-B

49 5B.96/D(5-6)b

6.9 × 8.9 cm

Second century
Plate XII

The upper part of two consecutive incomplete columns from a roll preserving Plato's *Meno*. The writing is along the fibres, and the back is blank. Only a few letters and traces survive from the right end of col. i. Parts of ten lines from col. ii are preserved, and the surface at their right end is much damaged. A top margin of 4.9 cm and an intercolumnium of 1.7 cm are preserved. The average number of letters per line is 16, producing a column of approximately 5.5-6 cm wide; evidence from col. i suggests that letters are squeezed at the end of the lines (i 1). The first

column should have contained 27 lines, its height being around 15 cm. Seven or eight columns would have preceded col. i in the roll, and the total dialogue would have required around 130 columns (9–10 m) and occupied the whole roll, if not two shorter ones.

The hand is an upright, medium-sized, formal round one. It is comparable to that of V **844** (Johnson's scribe A1), generally assigned to the second century, but a slightly earlier date has also been proposed (see **5089** introd.). The script is also similar to XXVII **2468** + **5089** (*Politicus*) and possibly the same scribe as **5090**, also of *Politicus* (see **5090** introd.). The writing is strictly bilinear apart from φ. There is obvious shading, and letters are decorated with blobs, occasionally dragged and looking like serifs. κ is made in two strokes, with the upper diagonal sometimes almost horizontal (note both instances in ii 1, especially the first one, where it looks like a τ). The cross bar of ε connects with the upper part as in **5089** and **5090**; η has a high cross bar, and γ is V-shaped as in **5090** but different from **5089**. The beginnings of the lines in col. ii move to the left as the column proceeds. Although very few line-ends are preserved in col. i, the right margin is relatively uneven, but the scribe seems to have taken pains to maintain the width of the column (by compressing the letters in i 1 and writing a tiny c).

The change of speaker is marked by two dots (ii 3 and 7) and paragraphus in ii 3 (but this is impossible to determine for ii 7, since the bottom of its first letters is missing). Iota adscript is probably written in one place (ii 6), judging from the available space, but there is inconclusive evidence for other instances (ii 5). There is no case of possible elision.

The papyrus does not offer new readings. There is no overlap between this papyrus and XXXIII **2662** (= *CPF* I.1*** Plato 34), also preserving *Meno*. The text was collated with Bluck's edition (1961) and A. Croiset and Bodin's Budé (1949), and supplemented from Bluck's edition.

Col. i

και μεγεθος και ι]χυς (72 E)
 εανπερ ιχυρα γ]υ[ν]η
 η τω αυτω ειδει κα]ι
 τηι αυτηι ιχυι ιχ]υ
 5 ρα α.13].
 α.15].
 . . .

Col. ii

και δικαι[ως διοικουν
 τα: ου δητα: ουκ[ουν 73 B
 ανπερ δικαιο[ς] και σω
 φρονως διοικ[ωσι
 5 δικαιοσυνηι [και σω
 φροσυνη[ι] διοικησου
 ριν: αυ[αγκ]η: [των
 αυ]τω[ν] αρα αμφοτεροι
 δε]οντ[αι] ειπερ μελλου
 10 ριν] αγα[θοι] ειναι
 . . .

Col. i

4 The iotas adscript are restored in accordance with the scribe's practice in ii 6.

5 The only trace surviving seems like the top of right arm of γ. Restoring the line as ιϛχ]υ|ρα εσται το γαρ τηι α]υ also agrees with the average number of letters per line. However, this restoration is uncertain, as the trace is minimal.

Col. ii

2 The dicola both in this line and in l. 7 are not very clear, but there is little chance that anything else would have been written there, as there is no variation in the tradition. In both cases the traces are compatible with dicola, and they coincide with the changes of speaker.

3-4 δικαιωϛ[καὶ σωφρόνως with most MSS: σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως YF.

5 δικαιοσυνηι [. The last trace is the lower half of an upright. Iota is restored rather than kappa on the basis of line 6, where the size of the lacuna presupposes the presence of iota adscript.

M. KONSTANTINIDOU

5089. PLATO, *POLITICUS* 257 B-C, 257 D-258 A (MORE OF XXVII **2468**)

85/81(b)

17.5 × 13.4 cm

Second century
Plate X

Parts of two consecutive columns in one fragment, preserving the beginning of Plato's *Politicus*. The bottom of the roll's first column and the middle part of the second are preserved. A lower margin of 5.4 cm and a large intercolumnium of 2.6 cm survive. It is probably the beginning of the roll, with a left margin of 5.1 cm. Three full-length lines from the first column are 5.8-6 cm long, and the average number of letters per line is 17. The number of lines per column is 34; this would produce a column of around 19-20 cm high. With this format the *Politicus* would fit in a roll 10 m long, perhaps divided into two volumes. Col. i is shifting to the left (Maas's law), and an even right margin is maintained, occasionally with space-fillers (i 7,10). The writing runs parallel with the fibres, and the back is blank.

5089 is the same manuscript as XXVII **2468**. Fr. 2 from **2468** physically connects to the upper part of **5089**, preserving parts of the lines missing from col. i (re-edited here in bold letters). The rest of **2468** is from cols. xii and xiii.

The hand is an upright formal round with decorations and minimal shading. The script is carefully executed with a sharp pen. The script becomes evidently faster as the text progresses (fr. 1 and 3 of **2468**). φ is the only letter to break bilinearity. Letters of interest are the typical two-stroke α with a loop at the bottom left, and the ε with a higher middle stroke closing to the right with the upper crescent to form a loop. Decorative serifs mainly at the top and bottom of vertical strokes. **5089** is in a similar hand to that of **5088** and **5090**. They are all comparable to V **844** (Johnson's scribe A1, assigned to the second century, but see *CPF* I.1** Isocrates 84, correcting the date to first/second century), despite their more prominent decorations. Due to **844**'s three-stroke α and its γ and ζ, **5089** cannot

be identified with AI. **5088** and **5090** on the other hand are much closer, with all letter shapes in common, but slightly more formal. G. Cavallo, 'Osservazioni paleografiche sul canone e la cronologia della cosiddetta "onciale romana"', in *Il calamo e il papiro: La scrittura Greca dall'età Ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* (2005) 153–4 (originally published in *ASNP* 11, 36 (1967) 209–20), and G. Menci, 'Scritture Greche Librarie', *S&C* 3 (1979) 23–53, place **2468** in the late first century, which is likely, but its original editor's view of the second century is equally plausible. M. Tulli (*CPF* I.1*** Plato 57) dates it in the first/second century.

There are no accents and breathings, but lectional marks and punctuation are present. Two dots indicate the change of speaker in the dialogue. High point, paragraphus, and a χ in the left margin of the last line of the first column of the roll (i 14). Two line-fillers in i 7, 10. Elision occurs but is not marked (i 10, 13, ii 6). Iota adscript is written in the only case where it is required (i 12). The correction in i 10 is probably by the same scribe. **5089** does not overlap with the other papyri of *Politicus*. It offers no new readings. The papyrus was collated against the text of the OCT (1995).

Col. i

· · · · ·
· · · · ·] ·
· · · · ·

υμετ]ερα[ς τεχν]ης: (257 B)
ευ γε νη] τον ημετερον
θεο]ν 'ω' Cωκρατες τον
5 αμμων]α και δικαιως
και πανυ] μεν ουν μνη
μ]ονικως επεπληξας
μοι το περι τους λογι>
ζμους αμαρτημα' και σε
10 μ]εν αντι τουτων εις αυ
[[τ]] 'θ'ις μετε[ιμι] συ δ ημιν>
ω ξεν[ε μη]δαμως απο
καμηις χαριζομενος
αλλ εξης ειτε τον πολι
15 χ τικον α[νδ]ρα προτερον' C

Col. ii

· · · · ·
· · · · ·

ω ξ[ενε αμφω ποθεν εμοι (257 D)
εμοι [συγγενειαν εχειν
τινα τον μ[εν γε ουν υ
μεις κ[ατ]α την [του προ
5 σωπου φυσιω [ομοιον
ε[μ]ο[ι φαινε[σθαι φατε
του δ ημιν [η κλησις ο 258 A
μωνυμος ουσα [και η
π]ροσρησις [παρεχεται
10 τινα] οικει[οτητα δει
δ[η τους γε συγγενεις
η[μας αει προθυμως δι
α[λογων

Col. i

4–5 ω σωκρατε]ς τον Αμμωνα with most MSS: τὸν Ἄμμωνα ὦ Σώκρατες W.

15 In XLVII **3326** (*Republic*) Haslam considers the χιάζειν sign as marking a passage of interest and referring to a ὑπόμνημα accompanying the main text (also Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 112–18, McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri* 104–5). Here it possibly marks the mentioning of the subject matter, as in P. Berol. 9780v (*BKT* IV 536, re-edited in *CPF* I.1** Hierocles 1; McNamee,

Table 2), as it marks the only extant line where the title of the dialogue is repeated (*πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα*). This is also the case in *BKT* IV 536, where in two instances χ marks both the actual title and its repetition in the main text. The word *πολιτικόν* is also found in **2468** (Fr. I i 18), but the line-beginnings are not preserved and the presence of χ cannot be confirmed. The same χ is found three times in the similarly-formatted papyrus of *Phaedrus* XVII **2102**, where its function is uncertain (McNamee, *Marginalia* Table 3).

Col. ii

¹¹ $\gamma\epsilon$ was supplemented *exempli gratia* following W and the editors (OCT and Diès) against β and T. There is no way to verify whether the papyrus has $\tau\epsilon$ or $\gamma\epsilon$, since there is no space difference between the two.

M. KONSTANTINIDOU

5090. PLATO, *POLITICUS* 270 D–E

48 5B.28/L(1–3)a

6.9 × 17.1 cm

Second century
Plate XI

The upper left part of a single column from a papyrus roll preserving Plato's *Politicus*. The writing is along the fibres, and the back is blank. A generous upper margin of 5.5 cm and a left one of 1.7 cm survive. The average number of letters per line is 16. This would produce a column 5 cm wide.

The papyrus is written in an upright, medium-sized, formal round hand. The script is carefully executed with a relatively broad edged pen. ϕ 's vertical stroke extends beyond the notional upper and lower lines. The obliques of κ do not touch the upright. In μ the meeting point of the left stroke with the middle cup is low, sometimes reaching the notional base line. ϵ is closed-cupped like the Latin *e*, and γ is V-shaped. Decoration is by blobs at the edges of most vertical and diagonal strokes (but a blob on θ in 2 is probably unintentional), and there is minimal shading. Decoration seems more prominent in the upper lines of the column, perhaps due to the damaged surface of the lower part of the fragment.

The script is of the formal round type, rather large and upright, assigned to the second century (see **5089** introd.). The handwriting is comparable with **5089** + **2468** (also *Politicus*) and **5088** (*Meno*). **5089** is obviously by a different scribe, although the two hands are strikingly similar. **5089** is more fluid (an impression reinforced by the thinner pen) and with several letters drawn in a different way than in **5090** and **5088** (notably η , κ , μ , \omicron , π , and γ). **5090** and **5088** are much closer, perhaps by the same hand: all letters are drawn in the same way (note κ , the high middle bar of η , and the two different types of π at 1 and 5 in **5090** and at ii 3 and 10 in **5088**), and the decoration is similar. The letters in **5088** are larger and the columns slightly wider, which might contribute to a first impression of dissimilarity between the two hands. Letter and line spacing is more liberal in **5090**, but the ratio of spacing to the size of letters is the same in the two papyri. Although the

format of the two manuscripts is different, it is possible that **5090** and **5088** were copied by the same scribe. For examples of a single scribe writing in different size and format, see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 18, on scribe A2. There is not enough evidence to compare the use of punctuation and lectional marks (there is no change of speaker in the passage preserved in **5090**). In both papyri the columns are tilting to the right (Maas's law).

There are no accents or breathings. Punctuation is by high point in 3 and 8, and there is possibly a middle point in 4. Unmarked elision occurs in 11. There is no opportunity to determine the scribe's practice regarding iota adscript.

The only new reading in the papyrus at 3 is a grammatical variation; the papyrus transmits *γεραιότερον* instead of *γεραιότερον*. Where there is disagreement among the medieval manuscripts, **5090** supports the main families (β and δ) against Y and T²W² (at 9–10 and 19–20); in the one instance where the two main families disagree, **5090** agrees with TW (at 16), but aligns with W against T at 19–20. There is no overlapping with any other published papyrus of *Politicus*. The text was collated against the OCT (1995) and Diès's Budé (1935) and supplemented *exempli gratia* from the OCT.

	και επαυσατο π[αν ο	(270 D)
	σον ην θνητο[ν επι	
	το γεραιότερον· ι[δειν	
	πορευομενον· [μετα	
5	βαλλον δε παλι[ν [επι	E
	τουναντιον οι[ον νε	
	ωτερον και απα[λωτε	
	ρ[ο]ν εφνετο· και [των	
	μ[εν προς]βυτερω[ν αι	
10	λ[ε]υκαι [τρ]ιχες εμ[ελαι	
	ν[ο]ντο των δ αυ χ[ενει	
	ωντων αι παρει[α]ι λε	
	αινομεναι παλι[ν [επι	
	την παρελθου[σ]αν ω	
15	ραν εκαστον κα[θιστα	
	σαν των τε ηβο[ντων	
	τα σωματα λεαι[ν]ομε	
	να και σμικροτ[ερα	
	καθ ημ]εραν και νυ[κτα	
20	εκαστ]ην γιγνο[μενα	

3 γεραιότερον: γεραίτερον MSS.

9–10 εμ[ελαι]ν[ο]ντο with most MSS: ἐλευκαίνοντο Y. There is no doubt that the trace of the last preserved letter in 10 corresponds to μ rather than λ.

16 τε with TW and Diès: δε βW above the line and OCT. Diès and Nicoll (*CQ* 25 (1975) 43 n. 1) also report t transmitting δε. The papyrus reading is erroneous, and Nicoll is right to assume that the shared error τε is not important evidence for a T–W link. The papyrus proves that the τε was present in the tradition long before the point when it is assumed that the medieval families broke off.

ηβο[ντων: ηβωντων MSS. The papyrus clearly transmits a spelling mistake.

18 μικροτ[ερα: μικροτατα corrected in T above the line.

19–20 καθ ημ]εραν και νυ[κτα | εκαστ]ην with most MSS: καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα T: καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ νύκτα (corrected with transposition marks in T) Y.

M. KONSTANTINIDOU

5091. PLATO, *POLITICUS*, 299 E, 300 A–B, 300 C

100/135 (a)

14.6 × 14 cm

Second/third century

Parts of three columns from a roll with a blank back. The top of col. iii survives, preserving a generous upper margin of at least 3 cm. The column height by calculation is *c.*22 cm, occupied by *c.*35 lines. The rather wide intercolumnium of *c.*2.5 cm contrasts with the narrow columns of 5–6 cm (10–17 letters), showing a relatively uneven right margin. With an average of 13 letters per column, the column should have contained 36 lines. The whole dialogue would have fit in a 10-m roll.

The text is written in the ‘Severe Style’ with slightly slanting, medium-sized letters. There is an apparent contrast between thick and thin strokes. There are regular ligatures. Col. ii clearly shows that the letters become smaller and more condensed at the ends of some lines, evidently to achieve as even a margin as possible. Sporadic decorations can be distinguished on certain letters at line-beginnings. Little vertical serifs decorate the κ (top cross stroke) in ii 6, 10, and iii 7, 10, but not in ii 8 (possibly present originally, but now faded away). Similar vertical strokes can be found on the only z at the beginning of ii 15 and the γ ii 9 (second letter of the line) but not in other γ. For a similar hand, cf. XXVII 2452 = *GMAW*² 27, assigned to the third century (see 149 n. 48), and XVII 2098 = *GLH* 19b, dated from the document on the back to the first half of the third century.

No punctuation has been observed apart from paragraphus and dicolon combined to mark the change of speaker (ii 2 and iii 6). Space-fillers occur at the ends of i 1, ii 2, 4, and 5. There are neither breathings nor accents. Iota adscript appears where we would expect it. There is no opportunity to determine the scribe’s practice regarding elision, but spacing in iii 6 suggests that the scribe wrote in *scriptio plena*. Cols. i and ii exhibit Maas’s law.

The correction in ii 14 and marginalia in i 11 and ii 19 are written in a thinner pen, apparently by a second hand. Untypically, the marginalia appear in the

right rather than in the left margin, where one would expect explanatory and not textual comments (see McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (2007) 15–16). There is a striking similarity with the hand of XV **1808**, also preserving Plato (*Republic* viii) and heavily corrected and annotated by a second hand similar to—but not the same as—that of the marginalia in **5091**. The format is similar but not identical. **1808** is slightly more upright, and there are small differences in the drawing of letters: the middle stroke of μ in **5091** connects to the middle of the upright, and γ is different (although in **5091** ii 9 there is an γ similar to these of **1808**). The two papyri show a close resemblance (cf. the decorated κ and z at the beginning of lines), undermined by the thicker pen in **5091**. This type of script is generally uniform, often lacking distinctive features, and the possibility that the two papyri were written by the same scribe cannot be ruled out.

The papyrus does not overlap with any other *Politicus* papyrus published so far. However, col. ii 3–14 (300 BI–6) coincides with the quotation in P. Berol. inv. 11749 (M–P³ 1937.1), col. i 6–16; see K. Treu, ‘Kleine Klassikerfragmente’, in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin 1974) 438–40 (= *CPF* III 8) preserving a commentary on *Politicus* that is dated to the second century and thus earlier than **5091**. P. Berol. supports the conclusion that the reading $\theta\epsilon\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ in ii 11 is a scribal error and confirms that the supralinear addition at ii 14 is indeed part of the ancient tradition.

The fragment offers a new reading in the margin of col. ii. 9 $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ (or perhaps $\sigma\upsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$) instead of $\sigma\upsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omega\nu$. The preserved text stands in disagreement with TW and in agreement with β in ii 10. A change in word order occurs in ii 15–16. Possibly another new reading is to be seen in the margin of i 11.

The text has been supplemented *exempli gratia* from the OCT (1995).

Col. i

	c.10	[$\zeta\upsilon\gamma$ >	(299 E)
		[γραμματα γ]ιγνο	
		[μενα και μ]η κα	
		[τα τεχνην] δηλον	
5		[οτι πασαι τε α]ι τε	
		[χναι παντελ]ως	
		[αν απολοι]το η	
		[μιν και ουδ ε]ις αυ	
	c.14]	
10	c.14]	
	c.14	]	[τ]ουτο ζητ(ειν)

Col. ii

[γι]χ[νοιτο κακ]ο[ν]
αληθεστατα γε:>
 παρα χα[ρ ο]ιμαι τους 300 B
 νομους τους εκ>
 5 πειρας πολλης>
 κειμενου[ς και τ]ι
 νων συμβουλων
 εκαστα χαριεντως
 συμβουλευσαντων βουλευοντων
 10 και πεισαντων
 [θ]εασθαι τ[ο] πληθος
 [ο] παρα τα[ν]τα τολ
 μων δρ[αν αμαρ]
 τηματος `αμ[...]' α[περγα]
 15 ζομενος α[νατρε]
 ποι α[ν] π[ασαν c.3]

Col. iii

[c.8 μιμημα]
 τα με[ν αν εκαστων] (300 c)
 ταυτα[ειη της αλη]
 θειας [τα παρα των]
 ειδοτω[ν εις δυνα]
 5 μιν ε[ιναι γεγραμ]
μενα [πως δε ου]
 και μ[ην τον γε]
 ξιδοτα [εφαμεν]
 τον οντ[ως πολιτι]
 10 κον ει μ[εμνη]
 μεθα πο[ιησειν]
 τη τεχν[ηι πολλα]
 εις την α[υτου πρα]
 ξιν των [γραμμα
 15 τω[ν ουδεν]

Col. i

1 The traces at the end of the line seem like part of the ρ and a small, rounded space-filler (very similar to the ones at ii 2 and 5). However, it would come to stand somewhat oddly beneath the horizontal stroke of ρ.

The lost text at the beginning of the line could have read either *κατα συγγραμματα* with βW or *κατα τα συγγραμματα* with T.

5 [τε] with most MSS: omitted in B. Since the number of letters varies considerably from line to line, it cannot be determined whether τε is actually written on the papyrus.

8–9 οὐδ ε]ις T: οὐδεῖς B. οὐδ ε]ις is restored following the OCT text, because it is not possible to determine which of the two readings was written in the papyrus. There is a hint that the scribe did not elide in iii 6 (see relevant note) and if this is the case, and he was consistent in his practice, then οὐδ' εῖς would have been written οὐδε εῖς, which would have resulted in a 15-letter line. This is longer than the two previous lines (12 letters each), making it the longest surviving line of the column, and therefore οὐδεῖς might seem more convenient in terms of spacing. However, line 8 extends slightly into the right margin, allowing space for an extra letter. Moreover, a 15-letter line is not excessively long (i 6 for instance has 14 letters).

11 [τ]ροτο ζητ(ειν). The abbreviation ζητ could stand either for its common use as a marginal note: ζῆται, 'look it up', with a transcript of the text in question (cf. McNamee, *Annotations* 15, and *GMAW*² p.16), or conceivably, as a variant reading (τουτο ζητειν) for what should have been in i 11, τουτον ζητειν (299 E7). McNamee notes that the former usage is typical, when the text in the column contains an anomaly.

Col. ii

1 The first remaining trace is best assigned to the second ρ. There might be a microscopic trace of the following letter, probably ν. The last, disproportionately thick, trace in this line is written on a fibre that is significantly bent to the left, so it should be taken to belong to a letter at the end of the line, probably ο of *κακον*, rather than to a letter that would have stood in the place in which the trace is now. If the scribe was consistent in his use of dicolon, we may assume one at the end of the line as there is a change of speaker. There also may have been room for a space-filler.

6 κειμενον[ς with MSS: κειμε]νης P. Berol. 11749.

9 The marginal reading *βουλευοντων* must be a variant reading for *συμβουλευσαντων* written in the line. Maybe it indicates only a change of aspect, and we are meant to infer *συμβουλευοντων*. Neither *βουλευοντων* nor *συμβουλευοντων* made it into the medieval tradition, which unanimously transmits *συμβουλευσαντων*. The latter is also the reading of P. Berol. 11749.

10 πεισαντων with β: *συμπεισαντων* TW.

11 [θ]εασθαι: θέσθαι MSS and P. Berol. 11749. In *Phaedo* 84 B Plato uses *θεᾶσθαι* with the meaning 'to contemplate'. However, it seems difficult to make much sense of such a meaning here. Similarly, the possible meanings 'to see clearly' (cf. *Protagoras* 352 A) and 'to behold with a sense of wonder' hardly fit into the context of the passage, which makes it likely to be an uncorrected mistake by the scribe.

14 ἀμ[. . .]. There are traces from the word *ἀμάρτημα* above the line, but most probably *πολλαπλάσιον* was also added. The two words, transmitted by all medieval manuscripts and P. Berol. 11749, obviously were mistakenly left out by the scribe, since the preserved *αμαρτηματος απεργαζομενος* is a blatant mistake. In order to fit both words the scribe would possibly have had to write more than one line in the margin, in order to avoid entering the next column's space.

15–16 ἀ[νατρει]ποι with most MSS: *ανατρέπει* Y. All manuscripts transmit *πάσαν ἄν* after *ανατρέπει(-ει)*. The traces on the papyrus suggest that there is a change of word order, and *ανατρεποιαν πασαν* was written there. The ν from *αν* is missing, but the space is right for a wide letter. A π, probably from *πασαν*, clearly follows.

Col. iii

6 The reconstructed line is rather short (although not shorter than iii 10), suggesting that $\delta\epsilon\ \sigma\nu$ was written in full.

8 If the line preserves the same text as the medieval MSS, then it is the shortest surviving line of the papyrus. The numerous μ and ν (both wide letters) of this portion of text might have contributed to a smaller number of letters per line. It is also possible that in this and the previous lines (also relatively short) the scribe did not cram the letters at the line-ends. There might have been a space-filler at the end of the line.

O. RANNER

5092. PLATO, *POLITICUS* 305 D–306 B (MORE OF PSI XV 1484)

40 5B.110/H(1–2)b

Fr. 2 8.3 × 18 cm

Early second century

Two fragments that are clearly part of the same papyrus roll as PSI XV 1484 (giving 304 E12–305 C11) and P. Oslo 2 9 (giving 308 E10–309 C6); a comparison of the handwriting of the three papyri is possible on the basis of plate 254 in *CPF* IV.2. In **5092** fr. 1 gives the lower line-ends of what can be seen to be col. ii of PSI 1484, a part of the lower margin measuring 2.2 cm and the right intercolumnium, which amounts to 1.5 cm. Fr. 2, the largest, contains the remains of the next two columns, which are separated by an intercolumnium also of *c.*1.5 cm. Both the upper and bottom margins have been lost in this fragment. Col. i preserves the lower part of the written area and some of the upper line-ends. The 36 line-beginnings in col. ii cover the full written height, which amounts to 18 cm. Most lines contain 13–16 letters and are 4.5–5 cm wide. Fr. 3 remains unplaced. In the joint edition of the two papyri (*CPF* I.1*** Plato 61), Tulli has underestimated the number of missing columns between PSI 1468 and P. Oslo 9: between **5092** col. ii and P. Oslo 2 9 col. i about nine columns can be estimated to be missing.

This is an informal round hand of small size, generally upright and bilinear except for ϕ , which projects above and below the line, and ρ , which reaches below the line. Each letter stands independent and for itself, but α μ ν γ are cursively made in one sequence, and α ϵ tend to ligature. Letters worth noting: Δ has its left-hand corner almost rounded; π has the right leg a little curved; γ has lost the vertical stem and is sometimes V-shaped. The hand can be assigned to the early second century. P. Phil. 1 = *GLH* 13a, written in AD 125, provides a good parallel for many of the individual letters (α , Δ , π , γ). Its more cursive character is due to the fact that it is a document. Also comparable are XVII **2076** and XV **1809** = *GMAW*² 18 and 19 respectively, both assigned to late first / early second century. XI **1364** and **1365**, adduced as parallels for P. Oslo 2 9 by Eitrem–Amundsen, are obviously no parallels, since they represent the Severe Style.

Dicolon (fr. 2 i 25, 26, ii 26, 31) combined with paragraphus (fr. 2 ii 4, 5) serves to mark change of speaker. In fr. 2 ii 12 and 35, where there are two changes of

speaker in a single line, a double paragraphus appears (cf. P. Harr. 12). Punctuation in the form of a middle stop is used in fr. 1.4 and fr. 2 i 14 and 18 to aid correct division of the sense inside a period. A rough breathing (Turner's form 1) and a circumflex are placed over ω of $\omega\delta\epsilon$ in fr. 2 ii 27. Elision is marked by apostrophe in fr. 2 ii 24, 27, but remains unsignalled in fr. 2 i 2, 24 and ii 34. It is not effected at all in fr. 2 i 11. The scribe writes a supralinear addition in fr. 2 ii 2 to provide what he had left out *propter homoioteleuton*. In the intercolumnar area, to the left of each of fr. 2 ii 26 and 27 a dipole appears, and against fr. 2 ii 28 there exists the sign †, attested also in PSI 1484 ii 10. M. Manfredi, *Dai papiri della Società Italiana* (Firenze 1966) 9, followed by Tulli (*CPFL*.1*** Plato 61 p. 307), has suggested that the sign might have been used to refer the reader to a variant or a note somewhere in the margins, but there are no means to test the validity of this interpretation.

Other *Politicus* fragments in the Oxyrhynchus collection are X 1248, XXVII 2467 + 5089, 5090, and 5091. The text of this papyrus overlaps with no other previously published; collated with the OCT (1995) and Diès's Budé (1935) it exhibits three new variants (fr. 2 i 14, 17, 18), an original addition (fr. 2 ii 3), and, if the considerations in fr. 2 ii 30 are correct, an omission attested nowhere in the MS tradition. Where the two main medieval families are divided (BD and TW; at about 287 T changes source and moves to a position closer to W: see W. Nicoll, *CQ* 25 (1975) 41–7), 5092 offers the correct reading. As there is not a single agreement in manifest error between the papyrus and the rest of the tradition (in fr. 2 i 11–12 *απασιων* is estimable although rejected by editors), we have no indication of the papyrus' affiliations.

Fr. 1

	]την	305 D
	γαρ οντως ουσα]ν	
	βασιλικην ου]κ αυ	
	την δει πραττ]ειν ·	
5	αλλ αρχειν των] δυ	
	ναμενων πραττ]ειν	
]	
].	

Fr. 2

Col. i

(6 lines missing)

δι]ε
 ληλυθαμεν ου]τ αλ
 ληλων ουθ αυ]των
 αρχουσαι περι δε] τι
 5 να ιδιαν αυτης] ου
 σα] . .
 κατα την ιδιοτη]τα
 των πραξε]ω[ν το]υ
 νομα δ]ικα[ι]ως [ει
 10 λ]η[φ]εν ιδι]ον: ειξα
 305 E αι] γουν: την δε α
 πα]ρων τουτων αρ
 χ]ουσαν και των
 νομω]ν· κα[ι] ξυμ
 15 πα[ντ]ων των κα
 τα π[ολι]ν [ε]πιμελου
 μενην και τα]παντα
 ξυνυφαινουσαν·
 ορθοτατα του κοι]ν[ο]υ
 20 τη κλησει πε]ρ]ιλα
 βοντες την [δυνα
 μ]ι]ν αυτης προςα
 γο]ρε]υο[ι]μεν δικαι
 οτα]τ αν ως εοικε πο
 25 λιτι]κην: παν[τ]α
 πασι] μεν ουν: ουκο]υ]ν
 δη κ]αι κατα το της
 υφα]ντικης παρα
 δειγμ]α βουλοιμε
 30] . [] λθε[ι]ν

Col. ii

—αυτ]ην νυν οτε και
 παντα τα] [γενη τα κα
 τα την [πολι]ν δη
 λα ημιν [γεγονεν:
 5 κα[ι] ρφοδ]ρα γε την 306 A
 δη βα]ιλ[ικην] συμ
 πλοκ]ην ως εοικε
 λεκ]τρ]ον [ποια τε
 10 εστι κ]αι τινι τροπω
 συμπ]λεκουσα ποι
 ον ημ]ιν υφασμα
 αποδι]δωσι δηλον
 η χα]λεπον ενδει
 ξασθα]ι πραγμα α
 15 ναγκ]αιον αρα γε
 γονεν[ως φαине
 ται π]αντως γε μη
 ρητρ]ον [το γαρ αρε
 της μ]ερος αρετης
 20 ειδει] διαφορον ει
 ναι τιν]α τροπον
 τοις περ]ι λογους αμ
 φισβη]τη[τικοις και μα
 λ' ευεπιθ]ετον προς
 25 τας τω]ν πολλων
 > δοξ]ας: [ουκ εμαθον
 > αλλ' ω]δε [παλιν αν
 † δρειαν] γ[αρ] οιμαι
 30 σε ηχει]σθαι μερος
 B ε]ν αρετ]ης ειναι πα
 νυ] γε: κ]αι μην σω
 φρο]συνη]ν ανδρει
 35 ας μ]εν ετερον εν
 δ ουν [και τουτο μο
 ριον] [ης κακεινο ναι
 τ]

Fr. 2

Col. i

6] . . . The first trace has a horizontal line at top level whose left-hand extremity joins with vertical stroke now missing, perhaps compatible with both τ and ζ (from the word *πράξις* expected there), but the trace following does not fit with ιν. The second trace is remains of two uprights (the first one with slightly rightward-curving extremities) joined by a horizontal stroke in their upper part, compatible with η. Could the scribe have reversed the order of *ἐκάστη πράξις* and written *ἐκάστη πράξις* instead?

11 There are only minimal traces of the dicolon after *γουν*, but there is adequate space between the words, and there is little doubt that it is written there.

11–12 α|πα]ζων with TW: *παζων* BD.

14–15 **5092** is unique in offering *ξυμπα[ντ]ων* and in 18 *ξυμφαινουσαν* instead of *συμ-* and *συν-*. ξ-forms appear also in other Plato papyri and seem to be archaisms, well adapted to an age of Atticism. See Bastianini's note on *Protagoras XIII 1624* in *CPFL*.1*** Plato 62 and the literature cited there. It should be noted that the scribe uses the ξ-forms inconsistently; he writes *συμπ[λεκουσα]* in ii 10.

17 ᾿τάπαντα. The corrected reading *τα παντα* is not attested in any medieval manuscript.

19 This is the longest line, comprising 17 letters.

25–6 παν[τ]α[πασι] with BD: *πάνν* TW.

27 κ]αι with TW after correction : om. BDW before correction.

30 The text transmitted in the MSS is too short to fill the lacuna in this line. A textual discrepancy, such as a repetition, or a new variant must have occurred here.

Col. ii

1 A thin long line in the margin immediately left to line 1 is of uncertain significance. A paragraphus is not expected there.

2 P. Oslo 9 ii 10 provides another instance of the scribe correcting himself (his omission).

3 The insertion of the article before *πολις* is a hitherto unrecorded addition.

9 [τνι] supplemented from the OCT with TW. β transmits *ποίω* instead.

17 ται π[αντως]. There is no trace of a dicolon between the two words, although the surface of the papyrus is much damaged. Even if the dicolon is faded, there is not enough space between the two words; cf. for example 2 ii 26 and 31. Perhaps the scribe missed the change of speaker (there is no trace of a paragraphus where expected, but again the surface of the papyrus is damaged), or he inserted the dicolon later in the narrow space and the ink is now faded away. Three traces above *ται* could either be a damaged paragraphus (perhaps mistakenly written there instead of below line 17), or three deletion dots above the letters, again mistaken.

21 There is a trace attached to the first η of the line and into the left margin. It is possibly a critical sign, like a χ, with which the trace is compatible.

23–4 Spacing suggests that the papyrus originally had *αμφιβη[τικοις]* (with T before correction, B), not the correct *ἀμφιβητητικοίς* (with T after correction, W). *τη* was inserted above the line.

26 The double paragraphus which can be assumed to have existed below δ in *δοξας* (cf. 2 ii 12) has been lost to abrasion.

27 αλλ' ᾠδε. The lectional signs distinguish from *αλλω δε*: an example of their use to clarify articulation.

30 There is not enough space for the received text *ἐν ἀρετῆς ἡμῶν εἶναι*. The scribe can be assumed to have left out either *ἀρετῆς* or *ἡμῶν*. *ἡμῶν* is the likelier, not being indispensable to the sense.

G. XENIS

IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

5093. RHETORICAL EPIDEIXEIS

120/18–19

fr. 1 15.4 × 15.6 cm

fr. 2 9.2 × 15.5 cm

Second half of first century

Plates VI–IX

Two large fragments and 68 smaller pieces from a papyrus roll. On one side, written along the fibres, we have the upper parts of four consecutive columns (the first represented only by two line-ends); in col. iii the beginnings are on fr. 1, and the ends on fr. 2, but continuities of sense show that the two fragments should be aligned in this way (the running of the fibres is compatible with this). The reconstructed portion of the roll is c.30 cm wide. In this edition I will indicate this portion as fr. 1+2. The surviving upper margin measures c.2 cm, the intercolumnium c.0.5–1.0 cm; the margin to the right of col. iv measures 5.5 cm. Column-width is c.7.5 cm. Column height survives to 32–4 lines, c.13.5 cm; there is no clear indication how many lines are lost at the foot. According to W. A. Johnson's investigation (*Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 122–3) rolls written in informal and cursive scripts like **5093** could reach a column height of c.29 cm. On the back the same hand has written another column at a point corresponding to cols. ii–iii, and the text might have continued to the right; but to the left there is a blank of c.20 cm.

Thus it seems that this was an opisthograph roll (see M. Manfredi, 'Opistografo', *PP* 38 (1983) 44–54; G. Messeri, R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 104 (1994) 233 n. 1; CPF I.2**, no. 65, introd., p. 648; *ZPE* 168 (2009) 107–11, esp. 107 n. 6), but the format is odd. I am inclined to assume that the front is the original recto, although I cannot be sure, since no kollesis can be seen. In any case, one could assume that there was originally a kollesis in the part of col. iii that is now missing: this would imply a kollema-width of about 17 cm, which is perhaps relatively narrow, but still within the range described by Pliny and found among rolls from Oxyrhynchus (see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 88–91). The wide margin to the right of col. iv would mark the end of the roll, since the right-hand edge looks straight enough to be the original edge. The blank space on the back may have been left empty to be filled later with writing (cf. LIV **3724**). This is perfectly compatible with the character of the pieces contained in these fragments, probably representing a sub-literary text with practical purposes related to teaching (see below).

The smaller fragments have not been placed: I assume that they belong to the same roll on the basis of the script, but some of them are thematically related to the two major fragments (see below). However, the thematic similarities do not mean that those smaller fragments belong necessarily to the compositions of fr. 1+2: they

may belong to other pieces devoted to similar topics. Moreover, fr. 1*bis*–17*bis* are written on both sides.

The script also is compatible with the practical purposes of **5093** mentioned above. It is an informal handwriting with remarkable cursive tendency and numerous abbreviations, which appears quite similar to the script used for hypomnemata. On the one hand, ligatures are numerous (see e.g. fr. 1+2 → iv 3 *τουσστ*- and 11 *αλλε*-; ↓ 3 *-caι*). On the other hand, some letters are drawn separately and are clearly distinct, as in an ordinary bookhand script. For the alternation of these two characteristics, see e.g. fr. 1+2 → iv, at the beginning of 7, where the first four letters are in ligature, while in the following sequence *νοικονομ* letters are distinct; 9, where there is a separated letter in the sequence *μεν-η-ς*, which belongs to a single word; fr. 1+2 → ii 11, *στοιχείων*, where the letters are mostly separated. It is worth considering the characteristics of individual letters. **Α** presents a sort of narrow loop on the top. **Β** presents usually a U-shape, typical for cursive, but in one occurrence it has the more bookhand-looking form with two clear-cut lobes (see fr. 5 ii 18). **Ε** presents a cursive shape. **Η** approximates to an **S**, but there are occurrences presenting a more square shape with shorter right-hand upright whose tip joins the end of the central stroke (fr. 1+2 ↓10, fr. 5 ii 1 and 2, fr. 13.2 and 4). **Μ** consists of a diagonal departing from below the baseline and a deep central curve, which represents the two central diagonals; this shape is rather similar to that found in minuscule. **Τ** often takes a distinctive shape, with a curving stem through which the crossbar cuts; the upper arc of the curve sometimes blends with the left-hand half of the crossbar, sometimes joins it to form a closed loop, sometimes projects above it. **Υ** is V-shaped. **Υ** consists of a sort of crux. A good parallel for this script is represented by P. Lond. Lit. 108 (*GMAW*², no. 60), Arist. *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, assigned to the late first century (on the basis of the documentary text on the recto, dated to AD 78–9), first hand (*α*–*β* cols. i–xii; see *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία: Facsimile of Papyrus CXXXI in the British Museum* (London 1891), pll. 1–ix) and fourth hand (*γ* cols. xxv–xxx; see *Facsimile of Papyrus CXXXI* pll. xvi–xviii); see also L. Del Corso, ‘L’Athenaion Politeia (P. Lond. Lit. 108) e la sua “biblioteca”: libri e mani nella chora egizia’, in D. Bianconi, L. Del Corso (eds.), *Oltre la scrittura: Variazioni sul tema per Guglielmo Cavallo* (Paris 2008) 13–52, esp. 19–20 and 24–8). I am inclined to assign **5093** to the second half of the first century.

There are no accents or other diacritics (but see possible dicolon in fr. 1+2 ↓ 17 and possible punctuation mark in fr. 26.2). Punctuation is marked by means of *paragraphus* at the beginning of the line plus blank space within the line. Forked *paragraphus* occurs in fr. 1+2 → ii, between 9–10, with a blank, to indicate the beginning of a new piece, in fr. 4.2–3 and 11–12 (but here blank space is not survived because the text breaks off) and in fr. 28.1. In fr. 1+2 → iv 10 and 11 blank space occurs without *paragraphus*. Fr. 1+2 ↓ presents two sections in ekthesis, lines 15–25 and 29–32; fr. 4, only two lines, 9 and 20. In fr. 5 ii three short sections—3–4, 9–11, and 18–20—are

in eisthesis. In fr. 1+2 → ii lines 5–6 appear to be slightly in ekthesis, probably accidentally, as the first line of fr. 1+2 ↓. Elision occurs in fr. 1+2 → iii 4, 9, probably 23, iv 11, 16, 19, 24; ↓ 12, 14; fr. 3.3, fr. 8.2; *scriptio plena* occurs in fr. 1+2 ↓ 2 ἐπι[ύ] ρυδίκηι; 3 ἐπι ἀγαγωγῆι; 9 ἐπι Ἀρσινόηι. Crasis in fr. 1+2 → ii 4 κὰκ, iv 16 κᾶν. Iota adscript is generally written correctly throughout. Correction apparently by the same hand occurs in fr. 1+2 → ii 2, ↓ 20, fr. 3.9, fr. 4.17, fr. 12.8, fr. 17.11, fr. 10bis → 2, possibly in fr. 3.6, fr. 19.9, fr. 20.5, 7bis ↓ 2. In fr. 24.3 correction or variant may be meant. Phonetic spellings occur (fr. 1+2 → iii 6 μειμητικ[; very probably 7 χρ[. [= χρε[ίcas, and possibly 12 επει = ἐπί, ↓ 6 ἀλ. ινον = ἀλγ(ε)ινόν); see Gignac, *Grammar* i 189–90. In fr. 1+2 ↓ 12 the compound *κυνστήσα*[c is written without assimilation of the nasal, as frequently in papyri of the Roman period (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 165–6 and 170).

Atticized orthography is to be noticed: use of -ττ- instead of -cc- (fr. 1+2 → iii 5]υλαττομαι, 24 κιττ[; iv 11 ηττον, fr. 16bis → ελιττ[; fr. 3.3 θαλατ = θάλατ(ταν)), but *αινισσομενον* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 5, μελι[= Μελίσ[χη] in fr. 1+2 ↓ 8, possibly θαλα. = θαλάζ(χη) in fr. 1+2 → ii 13 (unless θαλατ is read) and consistent use of *κυν-* instead of *ξυν-* (fr. 1+2 → iv 28–9, ↓ 12, 13).

The writer makes much use of abbreviation. In many cases these are suspensions of the type familiar from documents: *κελ^η* = *κελή(νη)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 12; *ζ^ω* = *ζώ(ων)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 14; *τεχν^α* = *τέχνα(ι)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 14; *γραμ^μ* = *γραμ(ματικῆ)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 15; *στοι^χ* = *στοιχ(εῖα)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 16; *κυ^λ* = *κυλ(λαβαί)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 16; *προ|οι^μ* = *προ|οίμ(ιον)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 16–17; *διη^γ* = *διήγ(ησι)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 17; *ξαι|ρε^ε* = *ξεί|ρε(ι)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 17–18; *στι^χ* = *σίχ(ου)* in fr. 1+2 → iv 3; *οικο- νο^μ* = *οἰκονομ(ίαν)* in fr. 1+2 → iv 7; *παροι^μ* = *παροιμ(ίαν)* in fr. 1+2 → iv 24;]ραγ^ω = τ]ραγω(δίαν) in fr. 1+2 → iv 26, fr. 3.8, fr. 4.17, fr. 45.2, and possibly in fr. 37.2; *γ^υ* = *γυ(ναικί)* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 2, 9; *α. ^λ* = *ἀδελ(φήν)* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 14; *επειρα^ε* = *ἐπειρά(αντο)* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 8; *ελωφ^η* = *ἐλώφ(η)* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 12; *επαφησαμ^ε* = *ἐπαφησάμ(ενοι)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 8; *γε^λ* = *γέλ(ω-)* in fr. 3.4 and 7; *ενα^υ* = *Μεναυ(δρ-)* in fr. 4.5; *διονυ^ε* = *Διονυ(ο- / ω)* in fr. 4.14.

However, he also uses abbreviations of the 'scholastic' system, consisting of the abbreviation of syllables: *γ^ι* = *γ(άρ)*; *κ^ι* = *κ(αί)*; *μ^ι* = *μ(έν)*; *ο^ι* = *ὄτ(ι)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 9, ↓ 6, and fr. 2bis ↓ 6 (cf. also fr. 39.2); *ο^υ* = *οὔ(τω)* in fr. 1+2 → iv 22, fr. 4.19; *π^ι* = *π(ερί)*; *π^ρ* = *πρ(ός)*; *ν^ι* = *-ν(αι)*, ending of the present infinite, used in *ειν^ι* = *εἶν(αι)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 1, iv 12, and fr. 4.17; *νειν^ι* = *ἐνεῖν(αι)* in fr. 1+2 → ii 5; *κυνειν^ι* = *κυνεῖν(αι)* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 13; *ι^ι* = *γί(γνεται)* in fr. 4.6; *γ^ρ* = *γρ(αφ-)* in fr. 3.7, cf. *εγ^ρ* = *ἐγρ(αφ-)* in fr. 15.3; *φ^η* = *φη(σί)* in fr. 4.19, fr. 5 i 17 and possibly in fr. 14.3.

Such forms may also be used when the same syllable forms part of a longer word, e.g. *ἀνδρ(ο)* = *Π(ερί)ανδρ(ο)* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 8 (and probably *ο. χη* = *π(ερί)ούχη* in fr. 1+2 ↓ 17), *προπεμπωμ^ι* = *προπέμπωμ(εν)* in fr. 1+2 → iv 29. Although there is no sure evidence from the extant text (as I have been able to restore it), it cannot be excluded that *μ^ι* = *μ(έν)* was used in the middle of words, e.g. *γενομ(ο)* = *γενόμ(εν)ο*.

The scribe also uses a symbol that belongs to the same system: / = (έ'ςτι) in fr. 1+2 → ii 7.

Papyri containing similar abbreviations are: VIII **1086**, *Hypomnema on Homer*, of the first century BC (*GMAW*² no. 58; CPF IV.2, pl. 160); the above-mentioned P. Lond. Lit. 108; BKT I, Didymus' *Commentary on Demosthenes*, assigned to the first half of the second century (cf. CPF I.i**, p. 272; images in BKT I, pll. 1–11; Schubart, *PGP* no. 20; Seider, *Pal. Gr.* ii.2, pl. xix.38; CPF IV.2, pl. 14); P. Lond. Lit. 138, *Rhetorical Exercises* of the first century; XXXI **2536**, *Hypomnema of Theon on Pindar*, assigned to the second century (pl. III; *GMAW*² no. 61); BKT IV (P. Berol 9780), Hierocles, *Ἡθικὴ στοιχείωσις* (republished in CPF I.i** no. 60, with images in CPF IV.2, pll. 15–17), assigned to the later second century; LXXII **4854**, [Aelius Aristides], *Τέχνων Ῥητορικῶν α'*, assigned to the late second/early third century. For a general account, see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, *BASP Suppl.* 3 (Ann Arbor 1981), in particular pp. xi–xiv; cf. CPF I.i**, pp. 276–81. The same abbreviations occur in a draft of a private letter from Lollianos, the *δημόσιος γραμματικός* of Oxyrhynchus (P. Coll. Youtie 66, of 253–60; reprinted as XLVII **3366**). This tends to confirm the idea, based on the papyri mentioned, that this system is characteristic of commentary texts and informal copies of literary texts made for private use.

Note that **5093** does not make full use of the system as it appears e.g. in Didymus' *Commentary on Demosthenes* (see BKT I, pp. 2–3); thus it writes *εω* for *εἶναι*, not **, and *επι*, not *έ'*; the conventional signs for final syllables like *-ων* (McNamee, *Abbreviations*, 115–17) are not used. This may add to the impression of a private copy (see below). Finally it is to be noticed that in fr. 14.3 the sequence *αρφ'* very probably represents the siglum for *Ἀρ(ιςτο)φ(άνης)*.

The surviving text on fr. 1+2 represents at least four compositions:

(1) Recto i–ii 9: the title is not preserved; the subject is the difference between *παιδιά* and *σπουδή*. The first is argued to be built into us, since tickling will produce laughter but no physical stimulation will produce seriousness.

(2) Recto ii 9 ff. The title is preserved, *τάξιως ἐγκώμιον*(ν); the subject is order in the natural world and in human activities (*τέχναι*) like music, writing, and rhetoric.

(3) Recto iii–iv. The title is not preserved. With regard to the subject, col. iv clearly deals with child-murder and, more generally, immoral motifs as constituents of plots in Tragedy, in opposition to the realistic and more decent themes of Comedy. A syncretism between the two genres seems to be developed, and the author expresses his favour for Comedy. The lower part of col. iii seems already to treat this subject, and there is no sign of *paragraphus* in its upper part, a fact that suggests that this section began in the lower part of col. ii and occupied more than two full columns.

(4) Verso. The title or heading is preserved and is rather mysterious (see comm. ad loc.). The subject is the attempt to recover wives from death by illicit means such

as magic, and the subsequent recourse to *κοφία* as real consolation for the death of a beloved person. This is exemplified by means of mythical and historical figures.

These sections are not homogeneous. (3) looks quite fully developed, and ran to 80 lines or more of connected prose. The better-preserved portion presents the end of a carefully structured speech, addressed to a plural audience, with a climactic movement that quotes a proverb and plays with its wording (iv 22–7), presents a personification of Tragedy and Comedy, and concludes by alluding to the typical conclusion of Menander's comedies, the call for a torch to lead the actors off the stage (29 ff.). Of (1) we have only the end, but that too is presented in full sentences; the same is true of (4), so far as it goes. The exception is (2), which presents an asyndetic list of topics; if (3) began already in col. ii, this may have been quite short.

Among the minor fragments, fr. 3 and 4 clearly deal with themes linked to fr. 1+2 → iii–iv: in spite of the fragmentary state of preservation, it is possible to distinguish elements related to laughter and mocking (fr. 3) and a comparison between Tragedy and Comedy (fr. 3 and 4), the names of Menander and Ecphantides (fr. 4). Fr. 3 and fr. 4, on the basis of the content and the condition of preservation (they look slightly darker than fr. 1+2) could belong to the same section, although direct material joining does not seem to be possible. In theory we cannot exclude that they were part of the speech of fr. 1+2 → iii–iv, in which case we should assume a quite long column for a longer articulated treatment of the subject involving also Comedy and comic writers (it has to be noted, however, the presence of the forked *paragraphus* in fr. 4.2 and 11, which may indicate different sections as in fr. 1+2 → ii 9; cf. fr. 3.1–10 n. and fr. 4.1–20 n.). Alternatively, we can think that the roll contained another section with a subject similar to that of fr. 1+2 → iii–iv. Besides, fr. 5 i probably contained quotations from comic writers; fr. 5 ii, 6, 7, 10, 11, 37, and 45 present lexical elements thematically compatible with the topics of fr. 1+2 → iii–iv. In particular, fr. 9, 10, and 11 may belong to the same column on the basis of lexical elements and material aspects: note that both fr. 9 and 11 partially preserve the intercolumnium.

In assessing the style on the basis of fr. 1+2, we can note the elaborate construction of many sentences, and the use of illustrations from Greek myth, tragedy, and biography. At a more detailed level:

(a) The Attic spelling in -ττ- is used (see above), although not consistently. However, *συν-* (instead of the *ξυν-* that we expect in Attic) is consistently used: → iv 28–9, ↓ 12, 13).

(b) Hiatus does occur, but rarely: → ii 8 οὐ ἐπαφηγάμε(νοι); → iv 11 ἐνικήθη ἀλλ' (sentence-end); 16 Τηρεῖ ἐφ' (clause-end); ↓ 4–5 ἐπιστρα|φῆν[αι] ἀποτυχεῖν; 5 δύο αἰνισσομένου; (cf. fr. 3.8 ἔφη ἄξιον; fr. 4.4 ποιεῖ αὐτὸν).

(c) The vocabulary includes items entirely or largely attested only in prose of the Hellenistic and Roman periods: → ii 2 ἐπικλινῶς, 13 βλάστη, iii 21–2 βρεφοκτόνος, iv 9 τεκνοκτονία, 27 ἀσμενίζω, ↓ 2 ὑπερπαθής.

(d) Various kind of stylistic felicity: word-play with etymological figures (παραιτηρόμενον . . . ἀπαραιτήτ(ου)ς in (4) 3–4; σοφίσματ[α] παρηγορίας οὐ παρηγορήματα in (4) 9–10); elegant word-order (ἀψάμενοι . . . καὶ θιγόντες in (1) 5–6 where both participles apply to the genitive in the middle); elaborate paraphrase (οἱ τὰ παλαιὰ μυθολογοῦντ(ε)ς in (4) 1; play with the overlap of two meanings of a single verb in (3) iv 18.

These texts seem to represent the writer's own notes rather than the copy made by a professional scribe: the script, the 'scholiastic' abbreviations unsystematically applied, and the opisthograph layout with space left empty on the back point in this direction. But the fact that there are not frequent corrections suggests a sort of 'clean' copy. This does not mean that the writer/owner of the roll(s) is *stricto sensu* the author of the pieces: he may have copied or excerpted them from other sources or drawn heavily on texts by somebody else in composing his own version. In what context **5093** originated, we do not know, but only can guess. On the one hand, at least at first glance, (2) suggests the school environment, since the encomium represents an important exercise in the series of the *progymnasmata* of the standard rhetorical training (see fr. 1+2 → ii 9 n.; G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic* (Leiden/New York 1993) 47–53; T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge 1998) 190–92). In other words, these notes for a *τάξιως ἐγκώμιον* appear to be a very rough and concise sketch to be used in the actual practice of teaching. On the other hand, however, encomium was also an adult epideixis (see G. Anderson, 'Lucian as Sophist's Sophist', *YCIS* 27 (1982) 61–3, for the peculiar treatment of *progymnasmata* by Lucian). We have also encomiums in verse showing a strict similarity with the prose ones in terms of themes and rhetorical features, in other words deeply influenced by school training and related rhetorical theories (L. Miguélez Caveró, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid, 200–600 AD* (Berlin/New York 2008) esp. 264–5, 340–70). In this respect the literary production from Oxyrhynchus is particularly instructive: for example, two compositions in verse, L **3537v**, *Encomium of Hermes and Antinous* (3rd/4th c.) and LXIII **4352**, Hexameter Verses (c.285) are thematically related to the subject of an encomium on the flower of Antinoos contained in a collection of sketches for *progymnasmata* from Tebtunis, P. Mil. Vogl. I 20 (see J. A. Fernández-Delgado, F. Pordomingo, *ZPE* 167 (2008) 167–92, and → ii 9 n.). Three items from Oxyrhynchus deserve particular attention: XVII **2084**, a short prose encomium on the fig, performed at a festival in honour of Hermes, to whom this fruit was sacred, a piece whose paleographical, orthographic, and stylistic characteristics suggest a student's work (3rd c.); VII **1015**, *Panegyric Poem on Hermes* with the aim of praising Theon the Gymnasiarch (3rd c.); P. Oxy. inv. 45 5B.99/D (18–21)b (= *Eos* 56 (1966) 83–6, 2nd/3rd c.), containing an 'Encomium on the Word', which praises the *λόγος* on the occasion of a festival in honour of Hermes, the god who invented it and is called Father of the Word. It is very likely that these three items were composed to

be performed at a festival in honour of Hermes, whose cult in Oxyrhynchus is well attested (see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* 18.5 II 3070; Miguélez Cavero, *Poems in Context* 43). Hermes had a particular function as god of gymnasia (**1015** 9 *γυμνασίων ἐπίσκοπος*), where rhetorical exercises might have been performed.

(3) might also correspond to one of the *progymnasmata*, *κύγκρισις*, which in the handbooks follows directly after *ἐγκώμιον/ψόγος*. However, this elaborate composition does not seem likely to belong to the sphere of elementary teaching. I have not found any direct parallel to such a *κύγκρισις*, although we have comparisons between activities (e.g. *ναυτιλίας καὶ γεωργίας*, *Lib. Prog.* x 4, viii 349–53 Foerster) and between authors (Plutarch's *κύγκρισις Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Μενάνδρου*). In any case, one may take into account that *κύγκρισις* was an important part of the encomium already at a progymnasmatic level, as prescribed by [Herm.] *Prog.* vii 10, p. 196.9–11 Patillon; *Aphth. Prog.* viii 3, p. 132.10–12 Patillon; *Nicol. Prog.* p. 59.5–7 Felten. So, in theory, it cannot be excluded that our text is in fact an encomium of Comedy.

(4), with its elements which recall the *παραμυθητικός* and its fictional exploitation and manipulation/distortion of mythical and historical figures and data (see 8–14 and 12–14 n.), presents a flavour of popular philosophy, comparable to several works by Dio Chrysostom; see in particular xvi *Περὶ λύπης*, where the myth of Jason is exploited as an *exemplum* (10); xvii *Περὶ πλεονεξίας*, where there is an assemblage of mythical and historical examples exploited in a free and simplistic way to illustrate a point; xxiii *Ὅτι εὐδαίμων ὁ σοφός*; xxiv *Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας*; lxiii and lxiv, both entitled *Περὶ τύχης*. It also recalls several *διαλέξεις* of Maximus of Tyre (e.g. xv *Τίς ἀμείνων βίος, ὁ πρακτικός, ἢ ὁ θεωρητικός· ὅτι ὁ πρακτικός*; cf. xvi *Ὅτι ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος ἀμείνων τοῦ πρακτικοῦ*; xxix *Τί τέλος φιλοσοφίας*; xxxv *Πῶς ἂν τις πρὸς φίλον παρασκευάσῃτο*; xxxvi *Εἰ προηγούμενος ὁ τοῦ κυνικοῦ βίος*), although the philosophical implications of the *διαλέξεις* are certainly at a much higher level, since they often deal with philosophical authorities. Moreover, the freedom of the treatment and rendition of myths recalls the tone of the *laliae* and *prolaliae*, in the frame of a rather indiscriminate exploitation of mythical and historical figures and anecdotes in the construction and articulation of speeches (see D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge 1983) 77–9; Anderson, *The Second Sophistic* 53–5), a method also applied by Apuleius in *Florida* (see e.g. ix, xvi, xviii). On the basis of these observations, this piece may be cautiously (and at the same time highly hypothetically) considered as an essay or a group of notes for an essay on a moral topic, e.g. 'How one can free oneself from grief for a beloved person'.

It is very tempting to consider **5093** as the note-book(s) or working copy of a rhetor preparing for his everyday activity. If we assume that (2) represents the notes for the preparation of a lesson, while (3) represents a fully developed and polished *ἐπίδειξις* to be delivered (or composed with the intention of being delivered) in front of an audience, this rhetor appears to be devoted both to the elementary teaching of pupils and to lecturing before well-educated audiences. Such a double

dimension of teacher and lecturer is typical of the figure of the rhetor in the Second Sophistic (see Russell, *Declamation* 4–5, and Anderson, *Second Sophistic* 22–4), and the style and content of **5093** would allow us to assign it to a Second Sophistic context. However, as said above, one cannot exclude that the owner/writer of the roll(s) is producing a collection of *excerpta* without being necessarily the original author of the pieces. In any case the different degree of development of individual pieces suggests a practical purpose in the assemblage of the roll(s): a use for rhetorical training aimed to students at different levels. If so, the most accomplished piece (3) could have been used as a rather advanced model for school declamation, even if it had originally been composed as a public lecture to be delivered in front of a well-educated audience outside classrooms in the Second Sophistic context mentioned above. Among rhetorical papyri, there are items preserving different pieces of rhetorical compositions: P. Mil. Vogl. I 20 (2nd/3rd c., Tebtunis), containing sketchy notes for progymnastic compositions labeled with titles (a piece about the Phoenix, an *ethopoeia* on Heracles excluded from the Eleusinian Mysteries, a piece on the theme of the exile, an encomium on the flower of Antinoos; see Fernández-Delgado–Pordomingo, *ZPE* 167, 167–92); P. Lond. Lit. 193 (2nd/3rd c.), containing the remains of an encomium on αἰδώς and of another piece on the Phoenix; P. Köln VI 250 (1st/2nd c.), containing very short notes for two *ethopoeiae* ἀποτρειπτικάι on historical themes (one probably concerning Alexander the Great, the other Cyrus the Younger before the battle of Cunaxa), a part of an *ekphrasis* or of an encomium on the swan, an *ethopoeia* διπλή in the form of a speech of προσαγγελία by a lover who is going to commit suicide, which assumes the appearance of a μελέτη, in other words an original *variatio* of a standard progymnastic exercise (see A. Stramaglia, ‘Amori impossibili: PKöln 250, le raccolte proginnastiche e la tradizione retorica dell’“amante di un ritratto” [tavole 1–5]’, in B. J. Schröder, J.-P. Schröder (eds.), *Studium declamatorium: Untersuchungen zu Schulübungen und Prunkreden von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit* (München/Leipzig 2003) 213–39). In considering these papyri in relation to **5093**, we have to take into account the fact that they are rather fragmentary, so that it is difficult to analyse them in terms of stylistic level and degree of elaboration: however, we can see that P. Köln VI 250 presents interesting similarities with **5093** in the fact that it contains compositions at different levels of development: some in the form of notes, some as full-scale exercises. In any case, on the basis of the available evidence, **5093**, because of the variety of pieces and the different stage of elaboration of each piece, appears to be unique in its dimension of ‘mirror’ of a diversified teaching activity within the rhetorical training.

5093 remarkably contributes to the illustration of the flourishing of rhetoric and related teaching at Oxyrhynchus: from rhetorical handbooks (III **410**, 2nd c.; LIII **3708**, 2nd/3rd c.; LXXII **4855**, 3rd c.; PSI I 85, 2nd/3rd c.; P. Thomas 15, 2nd c.) to sketchy notes for a lecture (XVII **2086v**, 2nd c.); from *progymnasmata* (see the encomiums mentioned above, and also fr. 1+2, col. ii 9 n.) to declamations (II

216, 1st c.; XLV 3235, 3236, 3rd c.; LXXI 4810, 3rd c.) to a list containing subjects for declamations (XXIV 2400, 3rd c.); cf. J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt a. M. 1990) 345.

For valuable comments and suggestions I wish to thank Prof. L. Battezzato, Dr L. Carrara, Dr R. A. Coles, Dr M. Fassino, Prof. E. W. Handley, Prof. W. Luppe, Dr D. Obbink, Prof. P. J. Parsons, Dr M. Perale, Prof. F. Pontani, Dr I. Privitera, Dr A. Rodighiero, Dr D. A. Russell, and Dr L. Savignago.

fr. 1+2 →

Col. i

top

[1 line missing]

2]
]

Col. ii

top

· ικ^ω·ειν^τησσπου·τηνπαι^δεκτουπρ
 ην^μεπικλιωση[·]·]μ^α[·]·]εχεινκ^κωλυο
 μενουσπρηνδε·υσκολωκ^κπ·[·]·κα
 λουμ^εκακτουγελωτοσαρχα[·]·]τινασ
 5 ·νεν^ιτοιςσωμα^αψαμενοιγ··νενι
 ωνμερωνκ^θιγοντε·γελανποιοιμ^ι
 σπουδηςδεμηδεμιανουγ^λ/μοριονεν
 ημινουεπαφησαμ^εσπουδηκατα
 σκευασομ^ι ταξεωσεγκωμι^οο⁺κυ
 10 >βερναταθεια·[·]·αν^θδηλοιητωνου
 ρανιωνταξ·ηστοιχειωνθεσις
 ιονο·οσαμ[·]·ιβην^υκ^ημ·ρ^ωσεληφω
 τισμοιβλαστ·φν·ωνθαλα·σπασμ^ο
 κ^π·[·]·ρροια·[·c.6·]·νζ^ωε·τεχν^α
 15 ·νμ^ιμουσι^κ[·c.6·]·μ·τρα[·]ενγραμ^μ
 στοι^χσυλ^λ·[·c.8·]·ητο[·]·]προ
 ουμ^διηγ^γ·[·c.8·]·ο[·c.3·]·ξαι
 ρε^ςτων·[·c.15·]·[·c.4·]·μ^ι
 ·ραγματ[·c.20·]·[·]·[·]·[·]
 20]γεω
]·ινα

25]θμητι^κ
] . κτικη
] . νομια^υ
] . ικων
] . σενη
] . τρω^ω
]εικα^ς
]μονι
 30] . οθεν
]νανα
]νη . ^ο

Col. i

2] . , diagonal stroke, 1.5 mm long, ascending from left to right in lower part of writing space
 3] . , stroke approaching horizontal, 3 mm long, which may be projecting top of final c; cf. ii 4, 11, iv 4, 18, 26

Col. ii

1] . ι, left-hand arc whose top is in ligature with following ι υ, lower right-hand corner of raised triangular letter indicating abbreviation 2 [.]μ, deleted letter very likely to be c; μ written in interlinear space in slightly smaller size [.]c, deleted letter apparently a square one, possibly κ or η; c written in interlinear space in slightly smaller size 3] υ, slightly blurred diagonal descending from left to right [.], three traces in slightly diagonal alignment ascending from left to right lying on left-hand edge of lacuna and in lower, middle and upper part of writing space respectively] . , fibres damaged: remains of triangular letter? 5] υ, faded and very tiny trace at line-level; above it, at mid-height, almost in vertical alignment, thin diagonal stroke descending from left to right and touching following ν ου, stroke, 3 mm long, approaching horizontal on ι, like acute accent or part of circumflex γ . , remains of left-hand arc] υ, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space 6 ε . , stroke approaching horizontal, 3.5 mm long, in upper part of writing space 10 α . , diagonal stroke ascending from left to right lying in lower part of writing space and reaching mid-height, whose tip touches descender of previous α, and seems to be connected with lower extremity of stroke slightly slanting to left and protruding above writing space] . , extremely tiny mark at line-level; 0.5 mm further, stroke approaching horizontal, 1 mm long, lies in upper part of writing space and joins left-hand extremity of loop of following α 11 ξ . , tiny traces in vertical alignment in upper part of writing space] η, horizontal stroke, 3 mm long, in upper part of writing space touching following letter 12 ο . , upright; attached to it, traces at mid-height, followed by trace at line-level touching following ο, suggest square letter μ . , stroke approaching horizontal, 2 mm long, in upper part of writing space, touching head of following ρ, whose left-hand extremity joins another stroke (not preserved); below, in vertical alignment with left-hand end of this stroke trace lying in lower part of writing space 13 τ . , stroke slightly slanting to left and departing from right-hand end of crossbar of preceding τ υ, narrow bottom arc very close to horizontal stroke, 2 mm long, touching following ω: τ with broken crossbar possible α . , two tiny traces in upper part of writing space suggests superscript letter: one lies at bottom edge of lacuna, the other 1.5 further and 0.5 mm higher, at right-hand edge of lacuna 14 κ' , central part

of stroke indicating abbreviation falls in lacuna π, [, faded and tiny mark in upper part of writing space ρ, lower half of upright α, [, left-hand part of round letter, c or ε], υ, extremely scanty traces on right-hand edge of lacuna, in upper part of writing space, possibly belonging to right-hand arc ε, , three traces in vertical alignment suggest upright, followed, 1 mm further, by other upright joining to left at mid-height another stroke (not preserved) 15 υ, broad curve approaching left-hand arc; very close to it, at mid-height, two extremely tiny traces in horizontal alignment and very close to each other μ, stroke above letter, indicating abbreviation, is damaged: only thick trace on tip of right-hand element of μ visible], , remains of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space; below, at mid-height, two traces in horizontal alignment to each other μ, , stroke approaching vertical, 1.5 mm long, in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity touches left-hand end of crossbar of following τ; below, two tiny traces very close to each other at line-level 16 . . . [, first, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right lying in lower part of writing space and joining lower extremity of descendant preceding superscript λ; above it, top arc, whose left-hand extremity touches lower part of descendant of same preceding superscript λ; second, thick trace in upper part of writing space touching foot of ι of preceding line protruding below line-level; third, either Υ or part of two ligatured letters η, very small circle lying in upper part of writing space 17 . . . [, first, central part of left-hand arc; at opposite edge of lacuna, in upper part of writing space, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right joining following letter; second, upright whose tip joins diagonal stroke descending from left to right], , lower part of upright ο, two traces at line-level, in horizontal alignment, 1 mm apart; the right-hand one consists of 1.5-mm-long horizontal stroke touching following letter], , stroke, 2 mm long, approaching vertical, in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity is ligatured with upper loop of following ζ 18 [, scanty traces suggest left-hand half of triangular letter], , remains of at least two letters, consisting of two extremely tiny traces protruding above writing space], , first, short vertical trace in upper part of writing space; second, two diagonals, each about 2 mm long, in upper part of writing space, which form a sort of fork, whose vertex lies at mid-height 19 ρ, upper half of two uprights, 1 mm apart from each other], . . . , first, diagonal trace descending from left to right in upper part of writing space; second, left-hand arc; third, lower part of two uprights, about 1 mm apart; fourth, wide loop in lower part of writing-space 21], , wide curve approaching left-hand arc below line-level 23], , horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long, at mid-height in ligature with following letter 24], , right-hand arc 25], , trace in upper part of writing space 26], , diagonal descending from left to right in ligature with following c, joining to left at mid-height another stroke (not preserved) 27], , trace at line-level, in vertical alignment with upper extremity of broad curve approaching right-hand arc 30], , short vertical trace in upper part of writing space, possibly part of upright 32 η, upright protruding above writing space, 0.5 mm distant from diagonal ascending from left to right and reaching bottom of following superscript ο

Col. ii

top

φν]]ζικω(τέραν) εἶν(αι) τῆς σπουδ(ῆς) τὴν παιδ(ιὰν) ἐκ τοῦ πρ(ὸς)
 ἦν μ(έν) ἐπικλιῶς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν κ(αὶ) κωλυο-
 μένους, πρ(ὸς) ἦν δὲ δυσκόλως κ(αὶ) πα[ρ]ακα-
 λουμέ(νους) κακ τοῦ γέλωτος ἀρχά[ς] τινας
 5 ἐνεῖν(αι) τοῖς σώμασ(ιν)—ἀψάμενοι γοῦν ἐνί-
 ων μερῶν καὶ θιγόντες γελᾶν ποιοῦμ(εν)—
 σπουδῆς δὲ μηδεμίαν. οὐ γ(ὰρ) (ἔστι) μορίον ἐν

ἡμῖν οὐ ἐπαφηγάμε(νοι) σπουδὴν κατα-
 >σκευάσομ(εν). τάξεως ἐγκώμιο(ν). ὅτ(ι) κυ-
 10 >βερνᾶ τὰ θεῖα κ(αὶ) [τ]ὰ ἀνθ(ρώπεια) δηλοῖ ἢ τῶν οὐ-
 ρανίων τάξις, ἢ στοιχείων θέσις,
 ἰσόνομος ἀμ[ο]ιβὴ νυκτῶν κ(αὶ) ἡμερῶ(ν), κελή(νης) φω-
 τισμοί, βλάστη φυτῶν, θαλάζ(σης) σπασμὸ(ς)
 κ(αὶ) πα[λ]ίρροια, ἐ[πι]γο(νῆ) τῶν ζώ(ων). ἐν τέχνα(ις).
 15 ἐν μ(έν) μουσικ(ῆι) [ῥυθμ(οί), μέλ]η, μέτρα, ἐν γραμ(ματικῆι)
 στοιχ(εῖα), συλ(λαβαί), . . . [c.5 ἐν δὲ] ῥητο[ρικ(ῆι)] προ-
 οίμ(ιον), διήγ(ησις), ἀν[τίθ(ησις)], λύ(σις), ἐπ[ί]λο[γ(ος) c.2], ἐξαι-
 ρε(σις) τῶν ἀ[ίτιων c.15] . . [c.4] . . μ(έν)
 20 πραγματ[c.20] . ἐπα
]γεω
]ξίνα
]θμητικ()
]ακτικη
]ονομίαν
 25] . ικων
]ασει
]ει τρω()
]ε() εικασ()
]μονι
 30] . ὅθεν
]νανα
]νηκο()

'[We can infer] that play is more natural than seriousness from the fact that to the one we are inclined even if prevented, to the other we are reluctant even if exhorted to it, and from the fact that in (our) bodies there are some origins of laughter—indeed, by touching and palpating some parts (of the body) we produce laughter—but there is no origin of seriousness, since there is no part in us by touching which we will produce seriousness.

'Encomium of Order. The fact that it governs the divine and the human world, is shown by the order of the phenomena of the heaven, the disposition of the elements, the well-balanced alternation of nights and days, the phases of the moon, the sprouting of plants, the ebb and flow of the sea, the generation of animals. [It is shown] in the arts: in music by [rhythms, tunes,] measures, in grammar by letters, syllables, . . . in rhetoric by the exordium, the narrative, the antithesis (counter-proposition), the refutation, the peroration, ?the questioning of the charges . . .'

1-9 Concise description of laughter from the physical standpoint in terms of the effect of stimulation of certain parts of the body, as opposed to seriousness, which does not have a comparable

physical origin. As far as I know, in extant Greek literature there are no comparable passages that analyse the opposition *σπουδή/παιδιά* in these terms. However, laughter is described from the physical point of view in the following passages:

Arist. *Pt.* 965 a *διὰ τί αὐτὸς αὐτὸν οὐθεὶς γαργαλίζει; ἢ ὅτι καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου ἦττον, ἐὰν προαίσθηται, μᾶλλον δέ, ἂν μὴ ὀρᾷ; ὥσθ' ἦκιστα γαργαλισθήσεται, ὅταν μὴ λανθάνῃ τοῦτο πάσχων. ἔστι δ' ὁ γέλωσ παρακοπή τις καὶ ἀπάτη. διὸ καὶ τυπτόμενοι ἐς τὰς φρένας γελῶσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ τυχῶν τόπος ἐστὶν ᾧ γελῶσιν. τὸ δὲ λαθραῖον ἀπατητικόν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γίνεται ὁ γέλωσ καὶ οὐ γίνεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. διὰ τί ποτε τὰ χεῖλη μάλιστα γαργαλιζόμεθα; ἢ διότι δεῖ τὸ γαργαλιζόμενον μὴ πρόσω τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ εἶναι; ἔστι δὲ τὰ χεῖλη περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον μάλιστα. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ γαργαλίζεται τὰ χεῖλη τῶν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τόπων, ἃ ἔστιν εὐσάρκα. εὐκινητότατα οὖν μάλιστα ἔστιν. διὰ τί, ἐάν τις τὸν περὶ τὰς μασχάλας τόπον κνήσῃ, ἐκγελῶσιν, ἐὰν δέ τινα ἄλλον, οὐ; κτλ.*

Id. *PA* 673 a [subj. φρένες] ὅτι δὲ θερμαινόμενοι ταχέως ἐπίδηλον ποιοῦσι τὴν αἰσθησιν, σημαίνει καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς γέλωτας συμβαῖνον. γαργαλιζόμενοι τε γὰρ ταχὺ γελῶσι, διὰ τὸ τὴν κίνησιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ταχὺ πρὸς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, θερμαίνουσιν δ' ἡρέμα, ποιεῖν ὅμως ἐπίδηλον καὶ κινεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν παρὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν. τοῦ δὲ γαργαλιζέσθαι μόνον ἄνθρωπον αἴτιον ἢ τε λεπτότης τοῦ δέρματος καὶ τὸ μόνον γελᾶν τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπον. ὁ δὲ γαργαλισμὸς γέλωσ ἐστὶ διὰ κινήσεως τοιαύτης τοῦ μορίου τοῦ περὶ τὴν μασχάλην. συμβαίνειν δὲ φασι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πληγὰς εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν περὶ τὰς φρένας γέλωτα διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς γινομένην θερμότητα.

Cf. Alex. Aphr. *Pt.* p. 4.12–13 Ideler ἄποροι δὲ ζητήσεις εἰς τὴν αἰ τοιαῖδε· τίνας ἔνεκεν οἱ γαργαλιζόμενοι μαχάλας ἢ πέλματα ἢ πλευρὰς γελῶσιν;

Plu. *De laude ipsius* 547b ἔτι τοίνυν τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς γέλωτας εὐκαταφόροι φύσει καὶ προχείροι μάλιστα φεύγειν προσήκει καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς γαργαλισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ψηλαφήσεις ἐν αἰς τὰ λειότατα τοῦ σώματος ὀλισθάνοντα καὶ συρρέοντα κινεῖ καὶ συνεξορμᾷ τὸ πάθος· ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἐρρῆκασιν, τούτοις ἂν τις οὐχ ἦκιστα παραινέσειεν ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ σφᾶς αὐτοῦ ἐπαινεῖν ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινῶνται.

The cook of Hegesippus, *Ἀδελφοί*, fr. 1. 12–16 (K.–A.) describes the wonderful effect of the smell coming from his dishes prepared for a funeral banquet in terms of a titillation (*γαργαλισμὸς*) producing laughter in people who were just mourning as they were taking part in a wedding (*ἐπὶ τὰ τάχιςτ' ἔλθωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς, / τὰ βᾶπτ' ἔχοντες, τοῦπίθημα τῆς χύτρας / ἀφελῶν ἐποίησα τοὺς δακρύνοντας γελᾶν. / τοιοῦτος ἔνδοθεν τις ἐν τῷ σώματι / διέδραμε γαργαλισμὸς ὡς ὄντων γάμων*). Cf. Alex. Aphr. *Pt.* 2.45, who offers a description of *ὑπνον* as a consequence of physical stimulation of specific parts of the body. One may wonder whether similar features and elements were in the treatise *Περὶ σπουδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς* by the Stoic Athenodoros of Tarsos (*FGH Hist* 746 F 3), mentioned by Athen. XII 519b in relation to the exploitation of dwarfs for entertainment.

Arist. *EN X* 6.5–7, analyses the relation *σπουδή/παιδιά* from the ethical point of view. *παιδιά* is presented as a healthy and necessary *ἀνάπαυσις* from *πονεῖν* (cf. Pl. *Phil.* 30 e 6–7 *ἀνάπαυλα γὰρ, ὦ Πρώταρχε, τῆς σπουδῆς γίνεται ἐνίοτε ἢ παιδιά*, echoed by Aristacn. I 26.21–2), but clearly subordinate to *σπουδή*, in order to reach *εὐδαιμονία* (*δοκεῖ δ' εὐδαιμόνων βίος ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι· οὗτος δὲ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν παιδιᾷ*). This concept is expressed in a dictum of Anacharsis, *παίζειν ὅπως σπουδάξῃ*.

The author of **5093**, in 7–9, after the analysis of laughter in terms of physical stimulation, seems to deny any physical origin of seriousness. In fact, in 3–4 he states that we are by nature disinclined to it, *πρ(ὸς) ἦν δὲ δυσκόλως κ(αὶ) πα[ρ]ακαλουμέ(νους)*.

The treatment stops *ex abrupto* in the middle of line 9, and a section concerning a completely different subject, the *τάξεως ἐγκώμιον*, begins. This short text is really difficult to classify. While the following portion of the same column—the Encomium on Order—is presented in note-form, the text in 1–9 has a coherent syntactical articulation, so that it may be the conclusion of a speech or a final corollary to support an argument previously developed. In → iv we have a *σύγκρισις* between Comedy

and Tragedy, where the author clearly expresses his favour for Comedy. Therefore it is not implausible to think that these observations on *σπουδή* and *παιδιά* are related to the treatment of literary genres and the emotions or psychological conditions peculiar to them. The type of comedy that emerges from col. iv, characterized as *χρηστή* and *βιολόγος* (see 27–8 n.), may include both *σπουδή* and *παιδιά*. In this context, the concise observations in 1–9 may be considered as a further piece of evidence from a naturalistic point of view, suitable to support the arguments of an aesthetic treatment: the contrast between *σπουδή* and *παιδιά*, and especially the formulation in 7–9 suggest an intellectual origin of *σπουδή*. Although in the extant portion of the text there is no hint of a moral evaluation of the psychological conditions *σπουδή/παιδιά*, it is possible to link this piece to the theme of cols. iii–iv, namely to the defense of comedy: tragedy is what one would link exclusively with *σπουδή*, while comedy by its own nature necessarily contains *παιδιά*; then, *παιδιά* being based on more natural causes, since laughter is determined by physical stimulation, there would be a sort of naturalistic justification in giving the preference to comedy as literary genre.

1 *φυ*||*ςικω(τέραν)* seems to suit the context, that *παιδιά* is closely connected with bodily reactions; the accusative and infinitive construction must depend on a verb, now lost, with the meaning ‘we can infer’ or the like. The form of abbreviation, with *κ* raised and *ω* raised above that, is strange (McNamee, *Abbreviations* 118, gives a few parallels), but perhaps intended to distinguish this from *φυσικω*, which could be understood as *φυσικω(ν)*. I have considered also reading *εἰκ(ότ)ω(ς)*. But in that case the abbreviation by contraction is different from the abbreviations by suspension elsewhere adopted by the scribe.

2 For the use of the verb *ἔχω* with the adverb *ἐπικλινῶς* meaning ‘to be inclined’, cf. Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 167–8 *τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτύχανε προνομίας, ὅσα μερακιώδη χαριεντίσματα Τιβερίου διαμεμικηκότος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ αὐστηρότερον σχεδὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν*. Similar expression is to be found in *De fuga et inventione* 105–6 *ἀλλὰ τὸ γε ἡμέτερον γένος χρεῖον γέγονε τούτων διὰ τὸ πεφικέναι καὶ ἐπικλινῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τε τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ ἀκούσια ἀμαρτήματα*; *De cherubim* 162; *De officio mundi* 155.

9 Forked *paragraphus* and a blank within the line mark the beginning of a new section. The two words following the blank, *τάξεως ἐγκώμιον(ν)*, are clearly the title of this new section, which is therefore an *ἐγκώμιον*. This is a well-known type of *progymnasma*, which represents the basis for further developments by the later sophists and in particular by Menander Rhetor (see H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Stuttgart 1990³) § 1129). The range of the subjects of encomia is quite wide both in literary sources and papyrus fragments (see D. A. Russell, ‘The Panegyrist and Their Teachers’, in M. Withby (ed.), *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden/Boston/Köln 1998) 23, and F. Pordomingo, ‘Ejercicios preliminares de la composición retórica y literaria en papiro: el encomio’, in J. A. Fernández Delgado, F. Pordomingo, A. Stramaglia (eds.), *Escuela y literatura en Grecia antigua* (Cassino 2007) 405–53): from gods, heroes, historical and mythical figures (encomium of Diomedes, Odysseus, Achilles, and Thersites by Libanius (vol. viii, pp. 216–51 Foerster), the encomium of Dionysus by Lucian, and one on the same subject preserved in P. Köln VII 286, of the second/third century, the encomium of Achilles partially preserved in P. Vindob. G 29789, a collection of rhetorical exercises of the third/fourth century from Soknopaiou Nesos (see H. Gerstinger, in *Mitteilungen des Vereins Klassischer Philologen in Wien* 4 (1927) 35–47); the encomia of Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Tydeus in P. Mil. Vogl. III 123, of the third century BC; the encomium of Thucydides by Aphthonius (Prog. viii 4, pp. 132–4 Patillon), of Demosthenes by Libanius (vol. viii, pp. 251–7) and of Herodotus by Lucian to *ἄλογα ζῶα, φυτά, τόποι*, and concrete objects (*μυίας ἐγκώμιον* by Lucian, the *ἐγκώμιον βοῦς συγγραφικῶ χαρακτήρι* and *ἐγκώμιον φοίνικος καὶ μηλέας* by Libanius (vol. viii, pp. 267–77); the encomium of the horse in LXVIII 4647, of the second/third century, of the fig in XVII 2084, of the third century, of Antinoos’ flower in P. Mil. Vogl. I 20, col. ii 25–33–col. iii 1–25; the *κόμης ἐγκώμιον* by Dio Chrysostom (see Arnim II, *Appendix* i. 306–7; N. Terzaghi, *Synesii*

Cyrenensis Hymni et Opuscula ii (Roma 1944) 190–232, in particular p. 190 n. 1; M. Billerbeck, C. Zubler, *Das Lob der Fliege von Lukian bis L. B. Alberti: Gattungsgeschichte, Texte, Übersetzungen und Kommentar* (Bern 2000) 11), and to towns (which play a remarkable role in sophistic oratory (cf. *ZPE* 41 (1981) 71–83, esp. 74–5). Besides there is a third category, concerning more abstract subjects, the so-called *πράγματα*, including activities, like the *γεωργία* praised by Libanius (vol. viii, pp. 261–7), and moral virtues, like the *δικαιοσύνη* praised by Libanius (vol. viii, pp. 257–61; cf. Aphth. *Prog.* viii 2, p. 131.4 Patillon), the *σοφία* praised by Aphthonius (*Prog.* viii 10, pp. 134–7 Patillon), and the *αἰδώς* (in P. Lond. Lit. 193, fr. 1, from the second/third century), or achievements of civilization, like the (already mentioned) *λόγου ἐγκώμιον* in P. Oxy. inv. 45 5B.99/D (18–21)b, of the second/third century (*Eos* 56 (1966) 83–6). To this third category should be ascribed the subject of the *ἐγκώμιον* in **5093**. It should be noted that this text presents an extremely simple syntactic structure, in list form. The subject of the first clause is to be understood from the title. Therefore it seems to be a sketch rather than a fully developed exercise. It may be divided into two main sections: the first one (10–14) consists of a list including natural phenomena governed by *τάξις*; the second (14 ff.) consists of a list of human activities, the *τέχναι*, regulated by the same principle. For general theme, compare Arist. *Quint. De musica* 3.7 (pp. 105.7 ff.) stressing the signs of ‘sympathy’ between this world and the higher world: . . . τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον καιρὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν γινόμενα, φυτῶν τε αὐξήσεις καὶ φθίσεις, ζώων τε πληρώσεις καὶ κενώσεις . . . καὶ μὴν καὶ θαλάττης παλιρροίας τε καὶ ὑποχωρήσεις . . . μουσικὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν ὄλων, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀπίθανον κτλ.

9–10 κυβερνᾶ τὰ θεῖα κ(αὶ) [τ]ᾶ ἀνθ(ρώπεια). Cf. Pl. *Symp.* 197b κυβερνᾶν θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, referring to Zeus and apparently from an unknown tragedy (see R. G. Bury, *The Symposium of Plato* (Cambridge 1973), comm. ad loc.)

10 ἀνθ(ρώπεια) (the Attic form according to Moeris; see D. U. Hansen, *Das attizistische Lexikon des Moeris: Quellenkritische Untersuchung und Edition* (Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker, Band 9) (Berlin/New York 1998) p. 74, α 48 = I. Bekker, *Harporation et Moeris* (Berlin 1883) p. 188.25), or ἀνθ(ρώπινα).

12 The phrase ἀμ[ο]ιβῆ νυ(κτῶν) κ(αὶ) ἡμερῶν(ν) can be compared with the following passages: Eus. *PE* 7.10.2.1.4 . . . λόγῳ δὲ καὶ νόμῳ θείῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τὸν ἀμοιβαῖον ἀνακυκλεῖσθαι δρόμον, λόγῳ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ αὐτὸν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων χορείαν ἐν πρέποντι κόσμῳ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐξανύειν πορείαν κτλ.; cf. *ibid.* 4.5.8.7; *id.* *De laudibus Constantini* 1.5.6 . . . νυκτῶν τε καὶ ἡμερῶν ἀμοιβαῖα κινήσεις κτλ.; *ibid.*, 6.4.6 νυκτῶν τε καὶ ἡμερῶν ἀμοιβαῖα διαστήματα ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ κατεβάλετο κτλ.; Soz. *h.e.* 8.22.1.2 νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀμοιβαδόν.

12–13 σελή(νης) φω|τιμοί: the ‘illuminations of the moon’ by the sun, in the phases of the moon. For this term cf. Emped. fr. B42.8 DK ἀπολείπεται τοῖνυν τὸ τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ἀνακλάσει τινὶ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γίνεσθαι τὸν ἐνταῦθα φωτισμὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς; Alex. Aphr. in *Metaph.* 547.10 ἡ δὲ σελήνη ὕλην ἔχουσα κατὰ τόπον μεταβολῆς ἔχει καὶ τῆς κατ’ ἀλλοίωσιν; τὸ γὰρ δέχεσθαι τοὺς φωτισμοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀλλοίωσις ἐστι; *ibid.* 57.10 (on the mutual influence between stars) ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινα πάσχει, ὥσπερ ἡ σελήνη τοὺς φωτισμοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου δεχομένη, καὶ ὁμοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶ τοῦτο φθορά; [Gal.] *Phil. Hist.* 69.1 (Ἀναξίμανδρος) ἴδιον ἔχειν αὐτὴν φῶς εἶρηκεν, ἀραιότερον δὲ πωσ. (Θαλῆς) δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φωτίζεται τὴν σελήνην; Jo. Philop. In *Aristotelis Analytica posteriora commentaria*, CAG 13.3, p. 168.25–169.2 . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν φωτισμῶν τῆς σελήνης· εἴτε γὰρ τοιῶσδε φωτίζεται ὥσπερ ἐμφανίζεται, πάντως καὶ σφαιροειδής ἐστίν, εἴτε σφαιροειδής ἐστίν, πάντως καὶ τοιῶσδε φωτίζεται. ἐφ’ ὧν οὖν ἀντιτρέφουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλα τὸ αἴτιον καὶ τὸ αἰτιατόν, πολλάκις διὰ τὸ γνωριμώτερον εἶναι τοῦ αἰτίου τὸ αἰτιατόν ἐκ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ κατασκευάζομεν τὸ αἴτιον, οἶον τὴν σελήνην σφαιροειδῆ δεικνύντες ἐκ τῶν φωτισμῶν· καίτοι οὐχ οἱ φωτισμοὶ τοῦ σφαιροειδῆ εἶναι αἴτιοι, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο τούτων. Λέγεται οὖν οὗτος τοῦ ὅτι συλλογισμός· τὸ γὰρ σφαιροειδὲς τῆς σελήνης ἐκ τῶν φωτισμάτων συλλογίζεται. Cf. Vett. Val. *Anthologiarum libri ix* 1.12, p. 27 Pingree, who offers a detailed description of the φωτισμοὶ τῆς σελήνης from the astronomical point of view.

13 βλάστη φυτῶν. This conjunction occurs at Pl. *Lg.* 765e παντὸς φυτοῦ ἢ πρώτη βλάστη, and rather commonly in the literary prose of the Roman period (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 72.14.8; Plu. *Bruta animalia ratione uti* 990c; Ael. *VH* 13.16.10; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.2.24.1 and Iamblich. ap. Stob. 2.31.122.3, both quoting Plato; later Didym. Caec. *In Genesis* p. 67.22, Greg. Nyss. *De opificio hominis* 145.21, Theodoret. *Affect.* 12.56.5, Jo. Philop. *De opificio mundi* 68.3).

θαλάς(ε)ης. The last, superscript letter has largely disappeared in a hole. The surviving traces are a mark on the lower edge of the hole, and extremely scanty remains of ink on the right-hand edge. I have interpreted these as c: the right-hand trace on the hole would correspond to the end of its upper curve. However, the same traces might fit τ, with the lower mark as the foot of its upright. In that case the alternative restoration θαλάτ(τη)ς is possible, and even attractive if we consider that the text shows some examples of Atticized orthography (see above, introd.).

13–14 θαλάς(ε)ης σπασμό(ε)κ(αι) πα[λ]ίρροια. The context shows that this phrase must refer to the regular ebb and flow of the tides. παλίρροια is certainly used of tides by other authors (e.g. Polyb. 34.9.5, Strab. 1.2.36), though it may also refer to violent currents or surges (e.g. Longus 2.14.1, Heliod. 5.17.3). Note Aristid. Quint. *De Mus.* 3.7, p. 105.1 ff. Winnington-Ingram: . . . θαλάττης παλιρροίας τε καὶ ὑποχωρήσεις, αἱ τῆς αὐτῆς θεοῦ (the moon) τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ φάσει καθ' ἕκαστα συμμεταβάλλουσιν. σπασμός (σπάσμα) elsewhere describes violent motions of the sea (D. S. 3.44, App. *BC* 5.90, whirlpools; Plu. *Cic.* 32, sudden retreat caused by an earthquake), but I have not found it referring to the regular ebb.

14 ἐ[πιγο(νή) τ]ῶν ζώ(ων). The space in *lacuna* allows about 5 letters. This leads me to assume that the word was abbreviated, like some of the nouns in the previous and in the following lines. This abbreviation may have been *exempli gratia* ἐπιγ^ο. The same *iunctura* occurs in Ael. *NA* 9.48.1 and Porph. *Abst.* 1.12.6.

14ff. For the idea of basic elements (στοιχεῖα) in music and writing, comparable with the στοιχεῖα of the physical world, see: Alex. Aphr. *In Aristotelis Metaphysica commentaria*, CAG 1, p. 368.21–8 διὸ καὶ ἔδειξεν ὅτι ἀρχὴ ὡς γνωστοῦ· δι' ὃ γὰρ πρῶτον γνωρίζεται τι, τοῦτο ἀρχὴ ἐκείνου, ὥστε γνώσεως καὶ τοῦ γνωστοῦ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ· ἐνί τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ πρῶτως οἱ ἄνθρωποι γνωρίζονται καὶ ἐνὶ ἵππῳ οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον γένος οἰκείῳ τινὶ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνου. οὕτως ἐν μέλει ἢ δίσκις· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐλαχίστῳ αἰσθητῷ διαστήματι δοκεῖ πάντα τὰ διαστήματα ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μετρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἐν φωνῇ δὲ τὸ φωνῆν ἢ ἄφωνον στοιχεῖον ἐν· τούτοις γὰρ ἐλαχίστοις πᾶσα ἐγγράμματος φωνῆ μετρεῖται; p. 609.13–16 καὶ ἐν μουσικῇ ἢ δίσκις· ἔστι δὲ ἡ δίσκις ὁ λίαν σμικρότατος φθόγγος τῆς χορδῆς, οὗ δὴ καὶ πρῶτον αἰσθανόμεθα καὶ ἀναίσθητοι τοῦ βραχυτέρου καὶ σμικροτέρου ἐκείνου ἐσμέν, εἰ τέως ἔστι σμικρότερος ἐκείνου. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν φωνῇ μέτρον τὸ στοιχεῖον; p. 609.30–33 καὶ αἱ φωναὶ (λέγων φωνὰς νῦν τὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν φωνῶν, τό τε ἄλφα καὶ τὸ βῆτα καὶ τὰ λοιπά) πλείονές εἰσιν, αὐτὸ τε τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷδε τῷ χάρτη γεγραμμένον. ὅτι δὲ ταῖς φωναῖς τῶν στοιχείων ὡς ἀρχαῖς καὶ μέτροις χρώμεθα διὰ τὸ ἐλαχίστοις εἶναι δῆλον; p. 835. 4–9 γελοῖον δὲ καὶ τὰ τρυπήματα τοῦ αὐλοῦ, ᾧ οἱ αὐληταὶ χρώνται, διὰ τὰ γράμματα εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρα ποιεῖν, ἢ προσαρμόζειν τὰ κδ στοιχεῖα τῇ ὁλότητι τοῦ κόσμου. βόμβυκα δὲ λέγει τὸ μέγιστον καὶ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ αὐλῷ τρύπημα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ὁ βαρύτερος ἦχος ἀποτελεῖται, ὀξύτατον δὲ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἔσχατον, αὐτὸ φημι τὸ κδ', ἀφ' οὗ ὀξύτατος ἀποτελεῖται φθόγγος; Aristid. Quint. *De Musica* 1.20.1 Ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν ἔστι τῆς μετρικῆς ὁ περὶ στοιχείων λόγος, εἶθ' ὁ περὶ συλλαβῶν, εἶθ' ὁ περὶ ποδῶν, εἶθ' οὕτως ὁ περὶ τῶν μέτρων, τελευταῖος δὲ ὁ περὶ ποιήματος, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς μετρικῆς παρατιθέμενος; Simpl. *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria*, CAG 9, p. 227, 12 τὸ δὲ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν φυλάττει τὰ τῷ φυσικῷ προσήκοντα μέτρα τῆς τῶν στοιχείων τῶν φυσικῶν γνώσεως. ὡς γὰρ τῆς γραμματικῆς περὶ τῶν εἰκοσιτετάρων στοιχείων ἔστιν εἰδέναι τὰ ὀλοσχερέστερα, τὴν δὲ ἀκριβῆ γνώσιν αὐτῶν ἢ μουσικῇ διδάσκει, οὕτως καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν στοιχείων ὁ πρῶτος διδάξει φιλόσοφος.

15 The traces before μέτρα seem to fit better the upper half of an η. The supplement is based on Philo, *De specialibus legibus* 1.342, where ῥυθμοί, μέλη, and μέτρα are presented as constituents of

music: θαυμασιώτατον δὲ καὶ ἀκοῆ χρῆμα, δι' ἧς μέλη καὶ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοί, ἔτι δὲ ἄρμονίαι καὶ συμφωνίαι καὶ τῶν γενῶν καὶ συστημάτων αἱ μεταβολαὶ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ μουσικὴν ἐπικρίνεται κτλ. Cf. id. *De cherub.* 105.5 . . . τὸ δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄρρυθμον καὶ ἄμετρον καὶ ἐκμελὲς ῥυθμῶ καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ μέλει διὰ μουσικῆς ἀστέίου θεραπεύουσα κτλ.

16 . . . [The three uncertain letters represent a paleographical problem. In such a list, we expect as the next item a word like ἔπη, ῥήματα, ὀνόματα, λέξεις, λόγοι, but the traces are not immediately compatible with such restorations. I suggest two possibilities. (1) θέμ[ατα, ἐν δέ], 'roots of words'. The space between θ and the following traces seems to be too wide to have been occupied by the missing curve of the restored ε; however, one may compare the long ligature between θ and ε in the word θέσις at 11. An objection may be raised about the interpretation of the traces as ligatured εμ, since the first diagonal of μ seems to be too curved.

(2) θέξ[ις αὐτῶν, ἐν δέ], 'the combination of them (i.e. letters and syllables)'. For the space between θ and ε see above. An objection may be raised about the interpretation of the traces as ligatured εc. Indeed, here it appears slightly different in comparison with other occurrences; see e.g. 11 θέσις, iv 1 ποιῶντες, 16 ἐστεφανοῦτο, 17 ἐξ[χ]ετλίαζεν, 26 ἄγειν, 30 τ]ε, ↓ 11 λ[η]ρήσαντες, 14 ἀτυχεστέ[ραν]. However, taking into consideration the irregularities of this script, this interpretation of the traces can be accepted. In any case, the two other traces—the dot above the ligature and the trace at the foot of the ι projecting from the previous line—are perfectly compatible with ε: they seem to belong to the upper part of the curve of this letter, while its central stroke is represented by the short diagonal descending from left to right in ligature with c. Parallel passages to be considered for this restoration are the following: Arist. *Cat.* 14 a 3b τρίτον δὲ κατὰ τινα τάξιν τὸ πρότερον λέγεται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων. ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς ἀποδεικτικαῖς ἐπιστήμασι ὑπάρχει τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ὕστερον τῇ τάξει — τὰ γὰρ στοιχεῖα πρότερα τῶν διαγραμμαμάτων τῇ τάξει — καὶ ἐπὶ γραμματικῆς τὰ στοιχεῖα πρότερα τῶν συλλαβῶν — ἐπὶ τε τῶν λόγων ὁμοίως — τὸ γὰρ προοίμιον τῆς διηγήσεως πρότερον τῇ τάξει ἐστίν; Dexipp. *In Aristotelis Categorias commentarium*, CAG 4.2, p. 22.16–17 σύνθεσιν γὰρ τινα συλλαβῶν καὶ στοιχείων ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα; Ammon. *In Aristotelis Analyticorum priorum librum I commentarium*, CAG 4.6, p. 5.10–14 καὶ λέγομεν ὅτι ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς σύνθεσις, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἀνάλυσις, ὡς περ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς γραμματικοῖς ἔστιν σύνθεσις καὶ ἀνάλυσις, σύνθεσις μὲν καθ' ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων ἢ τῶν συλλαβῶν συντιθέασιν ὀνόματα ἢ ῥήματα, ἀνάλυσις δὲ καθ' ἣν τὰ συντεθέντα ἀναλύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀπλᾶ ἐξ ὧν συντετέθη, εἰς τὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα; Jo. Philop. *In Aristotelis Categorias commentarium*, CAG 13.1, pp. 192.20–193.16 τρίτον σημαινόμενον τοῦ προτέρου τὸ τῇ τάξει πρότερον, ὡς περ ἔχει, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν. ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ ἀποδεικτικῇ ἐπιστήμῃ προηγούνται μὲν αἱ προτάσεις ἔπονται δὲ τὰ συμπεράσματα καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γεωμετρίας τὰ στοιχεῖα, φησὶ, πρότερα τῶν διαγραμμαμάτων. στοιχεῖα δὲ καλοῦσιν οἱ γεωμέτραι τὸ σημεῖον τὴν γραμμὴν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅσα τῆς τῶν θεωρημάτων ἀποδείξεως προλαμβάνεσθαι εἴωθε, διαγράμματα δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ θεωρήματα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γραμμάτων δὲ τῶν μὲν λέξεων πρότεροι αἱ συλλαβαί, τῶν δὲ συλλαβῶν τὰ στοιχεῖα. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἐρούμεν. προηγούνται μὲν γὰρ τὰ προοίμια, ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ ἡ προκατάστασις, εἶτα ἡ κατάστασις, τούτοις δὲ ἔπονται τὰ διηγήματα, εἶτα οἱ ἀγῶνες. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τῇ τάξει μόνη τὸ πρότερον ἔχουσιν, οὔτε δὲ τῇ φύσει οὔτε τῷ χρόνῳ δυνατὸν γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἄτεχνον ῥήτορα πρῶτον μὲν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν εἶτα τοῖς προοιμίοις καὶ τότε τῷ διηγήματι, καὶ τὸν γεωμέτρην πρότερον ἐκθεῖναι τὸ θεώρημα εἶτα τὰ στοιχεῖα. ὥστε ταῦτα τῇ τάξει μόνη τὸ πρότερον ἔχουσι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως τις ἂν συγχωρήσειε μόνη τῇ τάξει τὸ πρότερον λέγεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων οὐκέτι μόνη τῇ τάξει τὰ στοιχεῖα δοκεῖ τῶν συλλαβῶν ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ τῶν λόγων εἶναι πρῶτα. κτλ.; cf. Elias *In Aristotelis Categorias commentarium*, CAG 18.1 pp. 195.3–10 and 252.2–3.

16–17 ἐν δέ] ῥητο[ρικ(ῆ)ι]. I restore this expression, which fully suits the surviving ink, because what follows seems to be a list of the sections of a speech. It seems to be possible to restore *in lacuna* the list of five subdivisions of the speech offered at progymnastic level by Nicolaus, *Prog.* p. 4.6–7

Felten (cf. *ibid.* p. 23.18–19, 28.10–12, 35.16–18, p. 69.18–70.1–2, 76.3–12), προοίμιον, διήγησις, ἀντίθεσις, λύσις, and ἐπίλογος. In other sources this subdivision is applied to the πολιτικὸν λόγον, and presented together with variations; see in Syrian. *Commentarium in Hermog. περί στάσεων*, p. 12.5–13 τοῦ γὰρ πολιτικοῦ λόγου ὅλου τινὸς ὄντος οἱ μὲν τέσσαρά φασι εἶναι μέρη, προοίμιον διήγησιν πίστιν ἢ τοὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἐπίλογον, οἱ δὲ πέντε, προοίμιον διήγησιν ἀντίθεσιν λύσιν καὶ ἐπίλογον, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονα τούτων ὀνόματα μὲν καινότερα προσεπινοοῦντες ἅπαντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ πέντε μέρη καταπλῶντες ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν συστῆλλοντες τὴν ποσότητα οἱ δὲ ἐκτείνοντες; Anon. in Hermog. Rhet. *Prolegomena in librum περί στάσεων*, RG xiv (*Prolegomenon Sylloge Rabe*), p. 214.4–8 Ὅτι πέντε μέρη τῆς ῥητορικῆς, εὐρεσις, οἰκονομία, φράσις, ἐπικρισις καὶ διάταξις τῶν εὐρημένων. Καὶ μέρη τοῦ λόγου τέσσαρα, προοίμιον, διήγησις, πίστις, ἐπίλογος. σημειωτέον δέ, ὅτι τοὺς ἀγῶνας πίστει ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ ἄλλοι ἀντιθέσει καὶ λύσει εἰπόντες πέντε μέρη ἔχειν τὸν πολιτικὸν εἰρηκασί λόγον; Syriani, Sopatri et Marcellini Scholia ad Hermog. περί στάσεων, RG iv, p. 61.1–3 τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου ὅλου ὄντος, οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν εἶναι μέρη, προοίμιον, διήγησιν, ἀντίθεσιν, λύσιν, ἐπίλογον· οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείω τούτων (cf. *ibid.* p. 194.15–17; cf. Syrian. *Commentarium in Hermog. περί στάσεων*, p. 45.22–4 Rabe); see J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik: Technik und Methode* (1974) 52–60, and note that also Quint. 3.9.1 presents a subdivision of the speech into five items (*proemium, narratio, probatio, refutatio, peroratio*) as the most attested (*ut plurimis auctoribus placuit*). However, 5093 seems to include another item after the ἐπίλογος, the ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἀιτιῶν, not attested in the other lists mentioned above, but attested as part of the ἐπίλογος (see 17–18 n.). We cannot rule out the possibility that the author here is considering components of the rhetorical practice, without aiming to give in a strict sense subdivisions of a speech of a specific type. In any case it is worth noticing that a discussion of different traditions of speech subdivisions is attested, although in a very fragmentary state, in LIII 3708, a rhetorical treatise of the second or third century (see fr. 1 → 14–17).

17 ἀν[τίθ(ε)σις]. I print this supplement only *exempli gratia*. The traces fit the required letters: the traces corresponding to the first uncertain letter can be interpreted as the remaining of the loop of α, and its join with the following letter; the traces corresponding to the second uncertain letter can be interpreted as the upper half of the upright of ν, and the upper part of its diagonal. Alternatively, it is not impossible to read ἀν[ών(ε)σις], although that is less good in respect of the traces of the second letter. Cf. Jo. Philop. in Arist. *Physicorum libros commentaria*, 131, pp. 192–3 (see above, 16–17 n.). Subdivisions of speech including the ἀγών are attested in Anon. in Hermog. Rhet. *Prolegomena in librum περί στάσεων*, RG xiv (*Prolegomenon Sylloge Rabe*), p. 214.4–8 (quoted above, 16–17 n.); note that it is mostly attested in the quadripartite list form of subdivisions of speech, consisting of προοίμιον, διήγησις, ἀγών, and ἐπίλογος (see e.g. Rhet. Anon. *Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μελῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου*, RG iii, p. 570.4–8; Anon. in Aristotelis *Artem rhetoricam commentarium*, p. 226.9–12; Anon. in Aphth. *Prolegomena in progymnasmata*, RG xiv (*Prolegomenon Sylloge Rabe*), p. 75.6–7; cf. the quadripartite lists given by Anon. Seguer. *Ars rhetorica* i, p. 2.1–7 Patillon (προοίμιον, διήγησις, πίστις, and ἐπίλογος) and Arist. Rh. 1414a–b (προοίμιον, πρόθεσις, πίστις, and ἐπίλογος).

ἐπ[ίλο]γ(ο)ς. The traces fit the required letters: the lower half of an upright suits ι; with regard to the second uncertain letter, the first trace fits the foot of the left-hand leg of λ, while the short horizontal stroke at line-level represents the extremity of the right-hand leg, joining the following ο, as in 10 δηλοῖ.

17–18 ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἀιτιῶν. I propose this restoration *exempli gratia*; it is compatible with the traces. Since the word ἐξαίρεσις occurs in the section containing the list of the sections of a speech, it is plausible that it refers to rhetoric, and therefore I understand ἐξαίρεσις in the rhetorical sense explained by C. T. Ernesti, *Lexicon technologiae Graecorum rhetoricae* (1995) s.v. *Rhetoribus dicitur exceptio, qua quis adversarii rationes et praetextus refutat, elevat, vel suspectos reddit*. Cf. *Scholia vetera in Demosth. Contra Timocratem* (xxiv), probably by Ulpianus, 148b, 344b.21–8, 348a, 349; here in 344b it refers to a part of the ἐπίλογος. In any case it has to be noticed that the lacuna at the end of 17 seems to have contained

about 2 more letters after ἐπ[ίλο]γ(ος) and before ξξαίρε(ς). Three alternative explanations may be offered. (1) The author has not abbreviated the word ἐπίλογος by accident. (2) A blank space has accidentally been left; cf. fr. 1+2 → ii 10, where a blank occurs in the middle of a sentence. (3) The part of the speech ξξαίρεσι τῶν αἰτιῶν has been singled out with a short explanation. One could supply 17–18 as follows: ἢ δ' ξξαίρε(ς) τῶν αἰτιῶν τοῦ ἐπιλόγου μέρος.

19ff. The remains are so scanty that they do not allow us to make a hypothesis on the content of the missing section of this encomium. However, it is not implausible to imagine that some other human activities were taken into consideration: 20 γεω[[μετρ-; 22 ἀρι]θμητικ(), 23 τ]ακτικῆ, 24 ἀστρ]ονομίαν (or οἰκ]ονομίαν) would be possible restorations. For this sort of motif, see Xen. *IIII* viii, who stresses the importance of order in household management comparing its role in a chorus, in an army, in ships, in the storage of cereals by a farmer (see commentary by S. B. Pomeroy, *Xenophon, 'Oeconomicus': A Social and Historical Commentary* (1994) 285–91). But of course we cannot be sure where the encomium ended and a new subject began.

→

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	σε[<i>c.2</i>].	σευμ'χαλεπ.	[<i>c.10</i>]	των	
	επ[<i>c.2</i>].	σανηρημεν[[<i>c.10</i>]	οσαλ	
	λα[<i>c.2</i>].	τελετωνεπε.	[<i>c.10</i>]	ννο	
	.	[<i>c.2</i>]νοστηνεπαυ.	[<i>c.10</i>]	.	
5	.	[<i>c.2</i>]υλαττομαι.	[	<i>c.10</i>	]	εμ
	ψ.	[<i>c.2</i>]τηνμειμητι.	[	<i>c.10</i>	]	ω.
	ς.	[<i>c.2</i>]ακ'μυρωιχρ.	[	<i>c.10</i>	]	αφο
	ς.	[<i>c.2</i>].	ωμεθατηντ[	<i>c.10</i>	]	αλει
	ψ.	[<i>c.1</i>].	εσαλλοιατο.	[<i>c.10</i>]	μενη
10	φ[<i>c.2</i>]	ις αιματικα[	[	<i>c.10</i>	]	υδελευκ
	ς.	[<i>c.2</i>]	αντεσεριοι.	[<i>c.10</i>]	ουπου
	.	ελαινο.	ε πε.	[<i>c.10</i>]	ρεπει
	χ[<i>c.2</i>]	ικ'μελασις.	[	<i>c.10</i>	]	παντω
	θρ[<i>c.2</i>]	ωιδοστωνε[	[	<i>c.10</i>	]	ν αφε
15	μ[<i>c.2</i>].	κ'τ[	[	<i>c.15</i>	]	εισα.
	.	[<i>c.2</i>].	ων.	[<i>c.15</i>]	ε
	.	[<i>c.1</i>]	τοις.	[<i>c.15</i>]	ε
	ψ[<i>c.1</i>]	ωτα[	[	<i>c.15</i>	]	ε
	α[<i>c.1</i>].	ρου.	[	<i>c.15</i>	]	μαι
20	δ[<i>c.2</i>].	ετ.	τασ[[<i>c.13</i>]	εθ
	θ.	[<i>c.1</i>].	ωτων.	[<i>c.15</i>]	φοκτο
	ν[<i>c.2</i>]	σμυθους[	[	<i>c.13</i>	]	ω πιθν
	.	[<i>c.2</i>].	πλεξατω[[<i>c.13</i>]	ομαλδε
	ρ.	εικιττ.	[	<i>c.13</i>	]	τονπεν

25 θ . ω σου μ δ . [c.12] . . ε ρ ου ς
 φ [.] σο μ τ ου ς [c.13] . . . τ ε
 κ [c.1] ω φ . . . υ [.]
 α . [c.2] . γ εν . [.]
 κ [.] . ε . . εν τα . [.]
 30 π [.] . ς [. .] . ε α . [.]
 α . ου κα να π [.]
 θ . ο σε β ει ς π . [.]
 . . θ η . η . [.]

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να ν ο υ ν τ η ν ο ψ ι ν κ α λ ω ς γ ε π ο ι ο υ ν τ ε ς
 ο θ ε ν ε π . ν ο ρ θ ω ς α μ ε ν ο ς τ ο υ τ ο τ ο μ ε
 ρ . ς ε υ ρ ι π κ τ ο υ ς ς τ ι χ ε κ ε ι ν ο υ ς ω ν μ ε
 μ ν η τ ι ν ε [.] . . α γ ρ α ψ α ς π ο ι δ η τ α μ η τ ρ ο ς
 5 χ ει ρ α δ ε [.] . . αν ς τ υ γ ω ν φ ε υ γ ει ς α να ν
 δ ρ ο υ β η μ α τ . ς τ ι θ ει ς ι χ ν ο ς κ α θ ο λ ο υ
 τ ε τ η ν ο ι κ ο ν ο μ α λ λ α ξ α ς ε ν δ ο να μ φ ο τ ε
 ρ ο υ ς κ α τ ε ς φ α ξ ε ν ω ς μ ε τ ρ ι ω τ ε ρ α ς ε
 ς ο μ ε ν η ς τ η ς τ ε κ ν ο κ τ ο ν ι α ς ε ι μ η
 10 ε ν φ α ν ε ρ ω ι π ρ α χ θ ει η κ τ ο τ ε ο υ δ ε ν
 η τ τ ο ν ε ν ι κ η θ η α λ λ ε π ει δ η τ ε θ ο ρ υ
 β η ς θ ε π ρ τ η ν ε να ν τ ι ω ς ι ν ε ι ν δ ο κ ο υ
 ς α ν τ ω ν [.] ω ν λ ο γ ω ν ο υ ς π ρ ο δ ι ε ξ η λ
 θ ο ν π τ ο [. .] π ο λ υ τ ο υ τ ι ς η ν ο ν ι κ η ς α ς
 15 α κ ο υ ς α τ [. .] τ ι ν ι δ ρ α μ α τ ι ς ο φ ο κ τ ο ι ν υ
 ε ς τ ε φ α ν . . τ ο τ η ρ ει ε φ ω ι κ α ν ς φ ο δ ρ ει
 κ ο τ ω ς ε [.] ε τ λ ι α ζ ε ν ε υ ρ ι π ει τ η ν μ ε κ
 κ ο λ χ ω ν μ η δ ει α ν ε ξ ε β α λ ο ν ε ν ε κ α τ η ς
 π α ι δ ο φ ο ν ι α ς τ η ν δ α τ τ ι κ η ν π ρ ο κ η ν υ
 20 ν ι κ α ν ε κ ρ ι να ν ο υ μ ο ν ο ν ς φ α ξ α ς α ν
 τ ο ν ν ι ο ν ι τ υ να λ λ α κ θ ο ι να ν τ ω ι πα
 τ ρ ι π α ρ α θ ει ς α ν ο υ ε μ π λ η κ τ ο ν φ υ ς ει
 κ μ ε ς τ ο να λ ο γ ο υ φ ο ρ α ς ο χ λ ο ς ο υ κ ει ς
 αι γ α ς ο υ να γ ρ ι α ς κ α τ α τ η ν πα ρ ο ι μ α λ λ ει ς
 25 α ν δ ρ α ς α γ ρ ι ο υ ς μ ε τ α ς τ η ς α μ ε ν ο ι τ η ν

]ραγ^ωανοσιοισαγεσινκ^μιαιφονιαις
]εμενιζουσανεκθεσμοιστηνχρηστη^ν
]βιολογονκωμωδιανμετατωνεν
]ωνπαιανωνπροπεμπωμ^αναψαν
 30]εσαυτηιτασεπινικιουσδαιδασειχο
]ενοικ^αυτοιτουβιουτοτελοσομοι
].εχειντηιτελευτηιτωνεκε...ε

Col. iii

1 ε[, central stroke of ε presents ligature with following letter] . ε, tiny trace at line-level .[, oval with open top] ., upright whose tip joins to left another stroke (not preserved) 2] ., vertical trace in upper part of writing space slightly slanting to left . ε, upright] ., trace approaching horizontal in upper part of writing space, linked to remains of diagonal ascending from left to right; both traces touch following ο 3] ., right-hand arc .[, remains of upright?] ., short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper half of writing space joins upper extremity of other diagonal descending from left to right and reaching centre of left-hand upright of following η 4 .[, curve approaching big left-hand arc touching extremity of loop of α of previous line; roughly at mid-height to right, very short horizontal trace attached to it .[, only join with extremity of right-hand oblique of previous γ lying at mid-height] ., first, diagonal trace descending from left to right, possibly tip of triangular letter or remains of round letter; second, diagonal descending from left to right, probably part of triangular letter 5 .[, tiny trace descending below line-level: foot of upright?] ., upright slightly slanting to right with leftwards finial descending below line-level, whose tip bears thick slightly diagonal stroke, ascending from left to right, 2 mm long] ., upright? 6 .[, small left-hand arc touching line-level .[, remains of upright ω ., remains of upright descending below line-level 7 .[, diagonal trace departing from upper extremity of arc of previous c .[, short horizontal stroke in lower part of writing space] ., part of horizontal stroke at mid-height, touching top of loop of following α; above, in upper part of writing space three tiny traces very close to each other in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right 8 .[, remains of upright] ., join with following ω, which consists of stroke 1 mm long approaching horizontal and touching tip of left-hand lobe of ω 9 .[, traces in upper and lower part of writing space, at edge of lacuna, suggest triangular letter] ., part of crossbar touching following ε .[, extremely tiny trace at mid-height 10] ., two tiny marks very close to each other, in vertical alignment, at mid-height 11 ε ., stroke approaching diagonal ascending from left to right, 1 mm long, departs from lower extremity of arc of c .[, thin short horizontal trace in upper part of writing space 12 .ε, diagonal ascending from left to right; from its tip other diagonal stroke, 2 mm long, descending from left to right, departs ο ., crossbar whose centre shows join with another stroke (not preserved) .[, remains of upright attached to left extremity central stroke of previous ε and joining to right at mid-height another stroke (not preserved) 13 ε ., stroke approaching diagonal ascending from left to right, 1 mm long, departs from upper extremity of arc of previous c] ., curve whose upper part approaches top arc 14] ., left-hand arc in upper part of writing space 15] ., short stroke approaching horizontal at line level; diagonal stroke, 3.5 mm long, descending from left to right in upper part of writing space, possibly sign of abbreviation] ., only join with following letter at mid-height preserved α ., first, scanty traces at mid-height, very close to diagonal descending from left to right; second, horizontal trace at mid-height 16 .[, upright whose tip joins stroke approaching horizontal, 2 mm long, roughly at mid-height; μ or η] ., upright whose tip

joins to right horizontal stroke, 2 mm long, in upper part of writing space [, diagonal departing from foot of right-hand upright of previous \aleph and ascending from left to right] , very short trace, slightly diagonal, ascending from left to right and protruding above writing space [, join between upper part of upright and another stroke (not preserved); 1.5 further, tip of upright: the complex suggests square letter, μ or \aleph 17] , horizontal stroke, 2 mm long, at line-level: possibly a *paragraphus*? [, upright slightly slanting to right, linked to right, at mid-height, to stroke approaching horizontal, 2 mm long 18] , short stroke approaching vertical in lower space of writing space, followed, 1 mm further, by diagonal trace ascending from left to right in lower part of writing space [, remains of left-hand arc in lower part of writing space 19] , upright descending below line-level, whose tip joins to left another stroke (not preserved) [, first, remains of upright, slightly thicker at bottom; very close to it stroke approaching horizontal at mid-height; second, short vertical stroke at mid-height, possibly part of upright] , two tiny traces at line-level, 0.5 mm distant from each other [] , remains of upper part of upright [, remains of small left-hand arc roughly at mid-height 20] , right-hand angle of triangular letter [, group of tiny traces suggesting round letter [, extremely tiny traces in vertical alignment, lying in upper and lower part of writing space and at mid-height; 0.5 mm further, diagonal stroke 1 mm long, descending from left to right and lying in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity joins left-hand extremity of crossbar of following τ] , first, upright, 2 mm long, slightly slanting to right; second, upright; 0.5 mm further, diagonal, 1.5 mm long, ascending from left to right and lying in upper part of writing space; below some scanty and faded traces lying in lower part of writing space [, diagonal descending from left to right; some other scanty traces lying on its left suggests triangular letter 21] , very scanty traces in vertical alignment, possibly part of upright [] , stroke approaching horizontal, 1 mm long, touches roughly at mid-height following ι ; above, two traces in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right [, remains of upright or of left-hand arc of rounded letter] , only join with following ϕ is preserved at mid-height 22] , curve approaching left-hand arc 23] , diagonal ascending from left to right joining another stroke (not preserved) at mid-height; 1 mm further, in upper part of writing space, three tiny and faded traces very close to each other, almost in vertical alignment [] , tiny and faded trace at line-level 24] , remains of small left-hand arc in upper part of writing space [, very short horizontal stroke at mid-height at edge of lacuna [, tiny curve in upper part of writing space, possibly left-hand arc 25] , upper right-hand arc of this letter presents extra stroke at mid-height approaching horizontal [, stroke approaching vertical, part of upright or of left-hand arc [, left-hand arc in ligature with previous letter] , short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space [, remains of upright 26] , first, two tiny traces very close to each other and in vertical alignment ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space; slightly below a few other extremely thin and tiny traces; second, diagonal stroke, 2 mm long, ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space [, stroke 4 mm long, approaching horizontal with slightly blurred lower part curving to left and protruding above writing space: possibly left-hand part of triangular letter 27] , vertical trace at mid-height touching previous letter [, first, trace in lower part of writing space, possibly foot of upright; second, extremely tiny trace in upper part of writing space 28] , lower half of diagonal ascending from left to right [] , curve shaping bottom and right-hand of ω ? [, small left-hand arc in upper part of writing space 29] , lower part of diagonal descending from left to right in ligature with following ϵ is preserved [, traces in vertical alignment in upper and lower part of writing space [, upper part of right-hand arc [, curve in upper part of writing space, possibly part of left-hand arc 30] , diagonal ascending from left to right, in ligature with following letter: triangular letter? [, lower part of upright? [, lower half of upright?] , upright whose tip is linked to right with left-hand end of horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long [, left-hand arc in lower part of writing space 31] , two traces in vertical alignment,

respectively at line-level and in upper part of writing space; join with following ο is preserved
 32 θ, tiny trace in upper part of writing space, in vertical alignment with left-hand extremity of
 horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long, lying at mid-height and touching following ο π, lower part of
 upright? 33 θ, first, trace in upper part of writing space, touching bottom of θ of previous
 line; second, trace in upper part of writing space in vertical alignment with left-hand end of horizon-
 tal stroke, 1.5 mm long, at mid-height η, upright; tiny trace to left very close to its tip λ, trace
 in upper part of writing space

Col. iv

2 π, vertical trace in upper part of writing space 3 ρ, tiny trace at line-level 4],.,
 blurred ink in upper part of writing space: no clear trace can be distinguished α, upright descend-
 ing below baseline 5], trace below baseline consisting of horizontal stroke approaching
 horizontal, 1 mm long 6 τ, remains of right-hand arc 13], remains of left-hand arc
 14], short diagonal stroke, 1 mm long, descending from left to right in upper part of writing space
 15], short stroke, 2 mm long, approaching horizontal, in upper part of writing space: part of sign
 of abbreviation? 16 ν, very thin stroke, 1.5 mm long, approaching vertical, in lower part of
 writing space τ, right-hand arc 17], left-hand arc 29], slightly diagonal stroke
 descending from left to right, whose lower extremity preserves join to left with another stroke (not
 preserved) 32], upper part of upright slightly slanting to right ε,., first, tip of upright
 in ligature with central stroke of previous letter; second, tip of two verticals, 2 mm apart; between
 them, very scanty remains suggest diagonal descending from left to right ζ, rather narrow loop in
 upper part of writing space

→

Col. iii

top

ce[c.2]. c εὐ μ(έν) χαλεπ. [c.10] των
 επ[c.2]. . canηρημεν [c.10] . oc ἀλ-
 λα[c.2]. τελετών ἐπε. [c.10] ἔννο-
 ού[με]νος τήν ἐπ' αὐτ[c.10] πα-
 5 ρ[αφ]υλάττομαι [c.7 ἀπε]πέμ-
 ψα[το] τήν μιμητικ[ήν c.5 ἐρί]ωι
 τ[έψ]ας κ(αὶ) μύρωι χρί[σας c.6] ἀφο-
 ρι[ω]ζώμεθα τήν τ[c.10] αλεί-
 ψα[ν]τες ἀλλ' οἶα το. [c.10] μενη
 10 φ[c.2]ις αἱματικά [c.10] οὐδὲ λευκ(οῖς)
 τ[έψ]αντες ἐρίοις [c.10] ουπου
 μελαινοτε(ρ-) πε. [c.10] ρ ἐπεὶ
 χ[c.2]ις κ(αὶ) μέλασι c. [c.10] ρι πάντω(ς)
 θρ[ην]ωιδὸς τῶν ἐ[c.10] εν ἀφε-
 15 μ[c.2] μ(έν) κ(αὶ) τ[c.15] . ειαμε-
 ν[c.2]των. [c.15] . ε
 . [c.1] τοῖς μ[c.15] ε

ψ[*c.1*]ωτα[*c.15*] .εσ
 ἄ[*c.1*] .ρου . . . [*c.13*] . . ιμαι
 20 δ[*c.2*] δὲ ταυτας[*c.13*] . . αςθ()
 θ . [*c.1*] εἰν τῶν . [*c.11* βρ]εφοκτό-
 ν[ου]ς μύθους[*c.13*] ω() ἐπιθυ-
 μ[*c.2*] . πλεξατω[*c.13*] ο μάλλον) δε
 ρ . . ει κιττ . [*c.13*] τον Πεν-
 25 θέως . οὐ μ(έν) δ . [*c.13*] . . ερους
 φ[ή]σομ(εν) τοὺς [*c.13*] . . . τε
 κ[*c.1*]ωφ . . . ν[
 α . [*c.2*]ωγενη[
 κ(αἰ) [.] . ε . . εντα . [
 30 π[.]ας . [. .] . εα . [
 α . οὐκ ἀναπ[
 θεοσεβειςπ . [
 . . θηρη . [

Col. iv

top

ναν οὖν τὴν ὄψιν καλῶς γε ποιοῦντες.
 ὅθεν ἐπανορθωσάμενος τοῦτο τὸ μέ-
 ρος Εὐριπίδης κ(αἰ) τοὺς στίχ(ους) ἐκείνους ὧν μέ-
 μνηνταί τινε[*c*] διαγράψας· “ποῖ δῆτα μητρὸς
 5 χεῖρα δεξ[*i*]ὰν στυγῶν φεύγεις, ἀνάν-
 δρου βήματος τιθεὶς ἴχνος;” καθόλου
 τε τὴν οἰκονομ(ίαν) ἀλλάξας ἔνδον ἀμφοτέ-
 ρους κατέσφαξεν ὡς μετριοτέρας ἐ-
 σομένης τῆς τεκνοκτονίας εἰ μὴ
 10 ἐν φανερωῖ πραχθείη, κ(αἰ) τότε οὐδὲν
 ἦττον ἐνικήθη. Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τεθορύ-
 βησθε πρ(ὸς) τὴν ἐναντίωσιν εἶν(αι) δοκοῦ-
 σαν τῶν ξ[*μ*]ῶν λόγων οὐς προδιεξῆλ-
 θον π(ερὶ) τοῦ [Iπ]πολύτου, τίς ἦν ὁ νικήσας,
 15 ἀκούσατ[ε, κ](αἰ) τίνι δράματι. Σοφοκ(λῆς) τοῖνυν
 ἐστεφανοῦτο Τηρεῖ, ἐφ’ ᾧ κἂν σφόδρ’ εἰ-
 κότως ἐς[*χ*]ετλίαζεν Εὐριπίδης, εἰ τὴν μ(έν) ἐκ
 Κολχῶν Μήδειαν ἐξέβαλον ἔνεκα τῆς

παιδοφονίας, τὴν δ' Ἀττικὴν Πρόκνην
 20 νικᾶν ἔκριναν οὐ μόνον σφάξασαν
 τὸν υἱὸν Ἴτυν, ἀλλὰ κ(αὶ) θοῖναν τῶι πα-
 τρὶ παραθεΐσαν. οὕ(τως) ἔμπληκτον φύσει
 κ(αὶ) μεστὸν ἀλόγου φορᾶς ὄχλος. οὐκ εἰς
 αἰγας οὖν ἀγρίας κατὰ τὴν παροιμ(ίαν), ἀλλ' εἰς
 25 ἄνδρας ἀγρίους μεταστησάμενοι τὴν
 τ]ραγω(δίαν) ἀνοσίοις ἄγεσιν κ(αὶ) μαιφονίαις
 ἀ]σμενίζουσαν ἐκθέσμοις, τὴν χρηστὴν
 κ(αὶ)] βιολόγον κωμωδίαν μετὰ τῶν συν-
 ψ]δῶν παιάνων προπέμπωμ(εν) ἀνάψαν-
 30 τ]ες αὐτῇ τὰς ἐπινικίους δαΐδας εὐχό-
 μ]ενοι κ(αὶ) αὐτοὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ὁμοι-
 ο]ν ἔχειν τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν ἐκείνης
 [πραγμάτων]

' . . . So [they felt disgust] at the spectacle, rightly. Hence Euripides, correcting this part, and crossing out those lines that some people recall, "Where then do you flee, hating your mother's right hand, placing the footprint of a coward step?", and changing the plot on the whole, slaughtered both (sons) indoors, as if the child-murder would be less striking if it were not carried out in public—and then he was defeated none the less. But, since you have shouted out at the seeming contradiction with the discourse which I went through before about the *Hippolytus*, hear who was the winner and with which play! Sophocles, then, was crowned for Tereus, at which Euripides very reasonably would have complained, if they threw out Medea of Colchis because of the child-murder, but judged the Attic Procne to win, who not only slaughtered her son Itys but also served him as a feast to his father. Such a crazy thing by nature, and full of irrational impulse, (is) a crowd! So, transferring Tragedy, which takes satisfaction in unholy pollutions and lawless murders, not to the wild goats—according to the proverb—but to the wild men, let us escort good, life-representing Comedy with paeans sung together, lighting to her the torches of victory, praying that we ourselves too may have an end to our life similar to the end of her [action] . . .'

Cols. iii and iv

On the basis of the matching of fibres and content, cols. iii and iv seem to belong to the same section. Col. iv, well preserved, contains a syncrisis between Tragedy and Comedy. The author points out the fact that tragic plots consist of sanguinary and horrifying motifs (26–7), while Comedy is good and realistic (27–8), and therefore to be preferred as a literary genre. The point against Tragedy is illustrated by the use of the motif of child-murder in two versions of the tragedy *Medea*: in the first version the murder—at least of one of *Medea*'s two sons—is represented on stage, in the second one—which is presented as a version drastically modified by Euripides—the murder does not take place in front of the audience but inside (see below, iv 1–14 n.). In col. iii, although the remains are very difficult to read and supplement, the following significant elements may be considered in relation to the content of col. iv. (a) τὴν μιμητικ[ὴν at 6, which is significant in relation to the treatment of Tragedy and Comedy as potential representations of real life: cf. in particular iv 26–8. (b) The

name Πενθ|έως at 24–5, the sequence κ|ιττ. [at 24, which recalls the ivy sacred to Dionysus, the verb -πλεξ- at 23, which recalls the making of wreaths in cult, and the adjective or verb θεοσεβεί(ς) at 32, which can be easily placed in the context of the worship due to Dionysus and refused by Pentheus, all lead us to identify another very famous myth where child-murder plays a central role: the myth of Pentheus, slaughtered by his own mother Agave. At 21–2 the word μύθους leads me to restore the adjective βρ]εφοκτό|ν[ου]ς or βρ]εφοκτό|ν[ο]ς with considerable certainty (see iii 21–2 n.). This means that in this section also the author is considering the sanguinary plots of Tragedy.

Moreover, from the paleographical standpoint it has to be noted that in col. iii there is no sign of *paragraphus* to mark division between sections (cf. ii 9, where division of section is marked). This suggests that the whole of col. iii belongs to the same text as col. iv. It is quite likely that the text began in the lost lower part of col. ii, where probably there was a title.

Col. iii

col. ii (last line)–col. iii 1 φή]]|ςε[ι τ]ις (Handley).

1 χαλεπω[. *Exempli gratia* χαλεπῶ[ς, palaeographically more likely than χαλεπα[-, i.e. a form of χαλεπαίνω.

2 ἐπ[ι τ]οῖς ἀνηρημέν[οις (Handley), or ἐπ[ι.2]σαν ἡρημεν[.

2–3 ἀλ|λ' ἀ[π]ὸ τελετῶν (Handley). τελετῶν would fit a religious/ritual context (see above) and the mention of Pentheus at 24–5. However, I cannot exclude τε λέγων as a reading.

3–4 ἐννο|οῦ[με]νος (Handley).

4–5 In 5 φ]υλάττομαι is clear; the compound πα|ρ[αφ]υλάττομαι could be supplemented, although the traces of the uncertain letters—apart from α—are rather scanty. After that there is a blank space, which probably indicates a pause or break in the text.

5–7 It is clear that the author is recalling Pl. *Rep.* 398ab . . . ἄνδρα δὴ, ὡς ἔοικε, δυνάμενον ὑπὸ σοφίας παντοδαπὸν γίγνεσθαι καὶ μιμεῖσθαι πάντα χρήματα, εἰ ἡμῖν ἀφίκοιτο εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ ποιήματα βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξασθαι, προσκυνοῖμεν ἂν αὐτὸν ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἡδύν, εἴπομεν δ' ἂν, ὅτι οὐτ' ἔστι τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρ' ἡμῖν οὔτε θέμις ἐγγενέσθαι, ἀποπέμποιμέν τε εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέαντες καὶ ἐρίῳ στέφαντες, αὐτοὶ δ' ἂν τῷ αὐστηροτέρῳ καὶ ἀηδετέρῳ ποιητῇ χρώμεθα καὶ μυθολόγῳ ὠφελίας ἔνεκα κτλ. I have restored the text in 6–7 accordingly; the space after μιμητικ[ὴν] might be occupied e.g. by τέχνην or by ὁ Πλάτων. The verb-form in 5–6 must be some form of ἀποπέμπω; the subject of the sentence should be a masculine singular, perhaps 'Γ' or 'Plato' (or 'Socrates'). ἀπέ]πεμ]ψα could be read, but not ἀπέ]πεμ]ψε. However, since the final α looks short for the space, the middle form of the third person singular ἀπε]πέμ]ψα[το] seems to be possible, for reasons of space even better than the infinitive ἀπο]πέμ]ψα[ι], which in any case would require a main verb preceding in lacuna. On this basis, we should expect that when the same rituals are mentioned below (8–9 ἀλεί]ψα[ν]τες; 11 ετ]έψ]αντες ἐρίοις) they have the same metaphorical application. The change from singular to first person plural (cf. 26) may mean a contrast such as 'Just as Plato sent away *mimetike*, so must we . . .'; and the theme may be that we, like Plato, should choose the plainer (i.e. Comedy) and dismiss the more elaborate (i.e. Tragedy), as happens at iv 23ff.

7 χρί[ςαc. In the papyrus the phonetic spelling χρξ[ίςαc can be reconstructed.

7–8 ἀφο]ει[ω]ζώμεθα Handley/Parsons. This form could be interpreted as a future (cf. the use of the future in 26 φ[η]σομ[εν]) or as an aorist conjunctive (cf. the use of the conjunctive in iv 29). The text could be reconstructed as κ(αὶ) ἡμεῖ]ς ἀφο]ει[ω]ζώμεθα τὴν τ[ραγωδία]ν ἀλεί]ψα[ν]τες, and translated as 'Just as Plato sent away *mimetike*, we too will satisfy/let us satisfy our religious duty by anointing Tragedy . . .'.
9 ἀλλ' οἶα. I assume that a contrast is introduced, and that οἶα should be understood as an adverb; but e.g. ἀλλοῖα would be also possible.

10 If αἵματικά[is correctly read (the first *a* has an odd shape), then the word before could be restored as φ[ονα]ίς. Alternatively Parsons suggests αἵματικά[ίς ἀλοιφαίς], while Handley thinks of an articulation such as φόνου]ς αἵματι κα[ινῶι. At this point it is worth considering the reconstruction of 3–11 proposed *exempli gratia* by Handley:

ταῦτ'] ἔννο-
 οὐ[με]νος τὴν ἐπ' αὐτ[ῆι νέμεσιν] πα-
 ρ[αφ]υλάττομαι. κ[(αἰ) γ(ὰρ) ὥσπερ ἀπε]πέμ-
 ψα[το] τὴν μιμητικ[ὴν ὁ Πλάτ(ων) ἐρί]ωι
 στ[έψ]ας κ(αἰ) μύρωι χρί[σας, οὕτω πω]ς ἀφο-
 ς[ω]ζώμεθα τὴν τ[ραγωδία]ν ἐπ]αλεί-
 ψα[ν]τες, ἀλλ' οἶα τοσ[ούτοις πεφυρ]μένη(ν)
 φ[όνου]ς αἵματι κα[ινῶι, οὐ μύροις,] οὐδὲ λευκ(οῖς)
 στ[έψ]αντες ἐρίοις . . .

' . . . reflecting upon these things I watch closely the nemesis against her. And in fact as Plato sent away the *mimetike*, crowning her with wool and anointing her with unguent, in a similar way let us too satisfy our religious duty by anointing her not with unguents, as being defiled by so many new murders, and by crowning her not with white fillets . . .'

According to this reconstruction, the expression in 10–11 would echo the phrase in 6–7 by reverting the two nouns and using an 'augmentative' plural (in this respect cf. the use of *κανῶ* and *χέρνιβες* in *Men. Dysk.* 440 with comm. ad loc. in A. W. Gomme, F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (1973) p. 204).

Finally it has to be noted that the traces at the end of 7 seem not to fit the *ς* of *πω]ς* (rather *ε* or *η* with curve attached to following *λ*?).

Note that in the lacuna in 8, on the basis of the space available, it has to be assumed that *τ[ραγωδία]ν* was written in full, while it is abbreviated in iv 26, fr. 3.8, fr. 4.17 and fr. 45.2. If so, it is plausible to think that here the author probably uses the noun for the first time in his speech and prefers not to abbreviate it (similarly in iv 28 *κωμωδία]ν* is written in full, but cf. fr. 3.19), but it could be a mere inconsistency in the use of the abbreviations.

11–16 As suggested by Handley's reconstruction in the previous note, the structure should be a contrast, 'and not crowning (Tragedy?) with white fillets but . . . with black . . .'. In 12 I suggest *πεπ[λ-]*, in 13 *χ[οα]ίς* (or *ἐπιχ[οα]ίς*?) *καὶ μέλας στ[έμμασι]*. In 14 there is a reference to a mourner, in 15–16 possibly a libation (*στ[εραμει]ν[ι-]*, seemingly a participle). The general idea seems to be that Tragedy should be 'anointed' with liquid from a libation and crowned with black garlands in the context of a metaphorical funeral ritual representing the (desired) death of Tragedy as literary genre.

11]ουπου. I cannot interpret this. *π* would have an abnormal shape, and it might be possible to read the ink differently.

13 πάντω(ς) or πάντω(ν).

14–15 ἀφέ[μ[ε(ν-)], possibly a form of the aorist participle of *ἀφίημι*, in abbreviated form (cf. col. ii 3–4, 8), to be taken in the sense of 'having sent away'. The subject could be the first person plural (*ἀφέ[μ[ε(νοί)]*) or the third person singular (*ἀφέ[μ[ε(νός)]*), perhaps referring to the mourner of 14? A possible supplement could be *τ[ὴν τραγω(δία]ν) κ(αἰ) καταστ[εραμει]ν[ι-]*. If the sending away of Tragedy means its death as literary genre, the libation could be performed on its metaphorical grave. Given that in 15 *μ(έν) κ(αἰ)* occur, one expects a contrastive *δέ* in one of the following badly damaged lines.

19 At line-end possibly οἶμαι.

20–21 In 20 a supplement like *δ[εῖ] δὲ ταύτας* or *δ[εῖ] δὲ ταῦτα* *ς[]* can be proposed. At line-end the prolongation of the central stroke of *θ* could represent an abbreviation, since the following line begins with *θ*, and the sequence *-θθ-* is to be ruled out. Perhaps it is possible to read *-ξαθ(αἰ)/-ςθ(ε)*.

Otherwise we have to assume a mistake against the so-called Lex Youtie (see M. Fassino, *RFIC* 126 (1998) 72–5; N. Gonis, *ZPE* 151 (2005) 166). $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\sigma\theta$ - would fit the contest in the sense of ‘pray to die’, as happens in tragedy. In 21 at line-beginning an infinitive may occur, perhaps $\theta\alpha[\nu]\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, or alternatively $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ (Handley and Luppe). The sense may be *exempli gratia* ‘but it is necessary that these . . . pray to die’, possibly referred to typical characters of Tragedy. Perhaps $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ indicates something like $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\pi\alpha$.

21–2 $\beta\rho[\epsilon\phi\omicron\kappa\tau\acute{o}[\nu[ov]c$. The adjective is attested only at Lyc. 229, and the noun $\beta\rho\epsilon\phi\omicron\kappa\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ three times in spurious works ascribed to John Chrysostom (*In synaxim archangelorum*, PG 59, 755.52; *In Herodem et infantem*, PG 61, 699.67; *In synaxim incorporalium*, 4.34 Halkin). It seems very suitable in connection with the myths of Tragedy implied by Pentheus (24–5) and discussed in the next column. $-\nu[o]c$ should also be considered, since the lacuna is not very wide (cf. 26).

The author may refer to E. *Bacchae* or to another of the lost tragedics dealing with this myth: *Pentheus* by Aeschylus (TrGF III F 183, pp. 298–9), *Bacchae* (?) by Sophocles (TrGF IV, p. 170), *Bacchae* or *Pentheus* by Thespis (TrGF I, no. 1, test. 1, p. 61, F [1 c], p. 65, perhaps also F [4], p. 66); *Bacchae* (or *Pentheus*?) by Iophon (TrGF I, no. 22, test. 1a, p. 132, F 2, p. 135); *Dionysos* by Chaeremon (TrGF I, no. 71, test. 1, p. 215, F 4–7, p. 218); *Pentheus* by Lycophron of Chalchis (TrGF I, no. 100, test. 3, p. 274), *Bacchae* by Xenocles I (TrGF I, no. 33, F 1, p. 153); see further details in E. R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae* (1960) pp. xxviii–xxxii. The possibility that one of these plays other than the Euripidean *Bacchae* was in the author’s mind may be supported by the fact that in col. iv, as already said, he takes into consideration two plays that allegedly present a different treatment of the same myth, of which one is the best known version—i.e. the E. *Medea* transmitted to us—the other is a version unknown to us (iv 1–22).

22–3 The sequence $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}$ - in 23 leads us to relate $\xi\pi\iota\theta\nu|\mu$ - to the rare word $\xi\pi\iota\theta\nu\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ‘garland’ (cf. Hesych. s.v. 4818, Athen. XV 678c, Plu. *Mor.* 647f). $\xi\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha$ could be read. Alternatively Parsons suggests the imperative, and reconstructs the passage as $\acute{\eta}$ $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma[\omega(\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha)]$ $\xi\pi\iota\theta\nu|\mu[(\acute{\iota}\delta(\alpha\sigma))]$ $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$. In that case the tiny trace before the beginning of the imperative should be ignored as an accidental mark. The] \omicron before $\mu\alpha^\lambda$ should perhaps be read] ω , the end of another imperative.

24–5 $\kappa\iota\tau\tau$ - also suits the idea of garlands, and *Πενθέως* introduces the idea of *Bacchae* and child-killing. In fact, although the *Bacchae* in Euripides’ play wear wreaths of ivy, this is not said directly about Pentheus. Perhaps the author is thinking of another play on the same myth (see above, 21–2 n.); probably he is simply imprecise. The trace suggests $\kappa\iota\tau\tau\omicron$ [or $\kappa\iota\tau\tau\omega$ [, not $\kappa\iota\tau\tau\iota$ [ν - .] $\tau\omicron\nu$ might be the article in a phrase like $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$, or $\sigma\acute{\tau}\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ (note that fr. 10.3 has] $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi$ [, but I am not sure whether I could place it there) $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ *Πενθέως*. At the beginning of 24 the traces of the first uncertain letter may fit the upper half of an ϵ ; the following traces perfectly fit the tip of the upright and the central stroke of ψ . Luppe suggests δ' $\acute{\epsilon}|\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\iota$, quoting E. *Ba.* 323 $\kappa\iota\sigma\acute{\omega}$ τ' $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\phi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$. The articulation could be: $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda\omicron\nu)$ δ' $\acute{\epsilon}|\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\iota\tau\tau\acute{\omega}$ [i.5 $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$] $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ *Πενθέως*, to be translated as: ‘rather (subject in the third person singular) will crown with ivy the head of Pentheus’; see E. *Ba.* 341–2 (Cadmos to Pentheus) $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}$ $\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\tau}\epsilon\psi\omega$ $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ / $\kappa\iota\sigma\acute{\omega}$, and cf. *ibid.* 81 $\kappa\iota\sigma\acute{\omega}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\theta\omega\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (referred to the ideal figure of Dionysus’ follower), 205 (Cadmos with regard to himself) $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ $\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\iota\sigma\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$, 323 (Tiresias to the chorus) $\kappa\iota\sigma\acute{\omega}$ τ' $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\phi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\sigma}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$; 105–6 (chorus addressing Thebes) $\acute{\omega}$ $\text{C}\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\iota$ $\Theta\acute{\eta}|\beta\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\theta\epsilon$ $\kappa\iota\sigma\acute{\omega}$.

25–6 At the end of 25 Luppe suggests $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\varsigma$, possibly referred to $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\nu\varsigma$ in 22. If so, then the sense should be something like: ‘we will not say that these ?stories are holy’, perhaps implying the Dionisiac character of the tragedy alluded to in 24–5 by the mention of Pentheus, or in general the presence of gods in tragic plots.

32 $\theta\epsilon\omicron\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ or $-\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, adjective or verb. This textual element can be related to the theme of religious *pietas* and Pentheus’ impiety towards Dionysus, so central in E. *Bacchae*; see e.g.: 1008–9 (chorus) $\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\rho$ $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\nu\acute{\kappa}\tau\alpha$ τ' $\epsilon\upsilon|\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau'$ $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$; 263 (exclamative phrase $\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$); 476 (Dionysus to Pentheus) $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau'$ $\acute{\omicron}\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$; 490 (Dionysus to Pentheus) $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$

γε κάεβουὺντ' ἐς τὸν θεόν; 502 (Dionysus to Pentheus) . . . ἐν δ' ἀεβῆς αὐτὸς ὢν οὐκ εἰσορᾶς (sc. τὸν θεόν); cf. also 45, where Dionysus says that Pentheus θεομαχεῖ, and 325 (Tiresias) κοῦ θεομαχῆσω ᾧων λόγων πειθεῖς ἕπο.

Col. iv

1–14 The text visualizes Euripides deleting a few lines from a certain play and correcting its plot in order to produce the present *Medea*. The implication is that there was a previous version, where at least one of her children was killed on stage. This version contained the two iambic verses quoted at 4–6 as addressed by Medea to the child who is trying to escape. The text, as it stands, does not state *apertis verbis* whether the previous version of *Medea* was by Euripides, like the first version of *Hippolytus* mentioned at 14, or by somebody else. *Prima facie* there are two possibilities:

(1) The author implies that Euripides wrote two versions of *Medea*: the two hitherto unknown iambic verses belong to this previous version of the play.

(2) The author implies that an earlier *Medea* had been written by another author, on which Euripides' play was based and from which the two iambic verses come from.

With regard to (1), the implication that Euripides himself is meant as author of the first *Medea* can be supported with the fact that the revision of the play is paralleled with the case of a tragedy by the same author, *Hippolytus*, for which a revision for reason of morality is documented by ancient sources (see 11–14 n.) However, no ancient sources mention a first version of *Medea* by Euripides (in spite of W. Luppe's claim in *ZPE* 173 (2010) 15–16, which I have treated in detail in *ZPE* 176 (2011) 45–51). The case was made by modern scholars in the Renaissance, precisely in the sixteenth century by Paulus Manutius (in vol. vi of his edition published in 1579 by Aldus Manutius in Venice). Some pieces of evidence can be used to support this possibility. If Cic. *De fin.* 1.2.4 is to be understood in the sense that Ennius' *Medea* is a verbal translation from the Greek (he speaks in terms of *fabellas Latinas ad verbum e Graecis expressas*), the tetrameter by Ennius quoted by Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.2 (*qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quia nequiquam sapit*) could be taken as the translation of a Greek trimeter, TrGF V.2 F 905 (μικῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός), quoted as Euripidean by Cic. *Fam.* 13.15.2; cf. Plu. *Vit. Alex.* 53.2 (2/2, 223, 24 Ziegler; Plu. *De latenter vivendo*, 1 p. 1128b (*Mor.* 6/2, 216, 4 Pohlenz); [Men.] *Monost.* 457 Jäkel; Luc. *Apolog.* 5 (3, 368, 26 MacLeod). This may provide the evidence that Roman scholars knew a different version of *Medea* (see details in H. D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge 1967) 347; N. Wecklein, *Ausgewählte Tragödien des Euripides*, I: *Medea* (Leipzig/Berlin 1909) 25–6 n. 1; A. W. Verrall, *The 'Medea' of Euripides* (London 1881) pp. xix–xx). However, one should bear in mind that Cicero's statement at *Fam.* 7.6.2 is to be taken with caution, especially if compared to Cicero's view at *Acad.* 1.3.10, where he states that Roman versions of Greek plays by Ennius and others give *non uerba sed uim* of their original models. On this question two further pieces of evidence have to be taken into consideration:

(a) Sch. Ar. *Ach.* 119 cites as from Euripides' *Medea* the phrase ὦ θερμόβουλον σπλάγχνον (TrGF V.2 F 858). K. O. F. Hense, *De Ionis fabulae Euripideae partibus choricis commentatio* (1876) 28–30, tried to insert it after line 1274 of the extant *Medea*, where there is a textual problem due to the absence of an iambic couplet required for the strophic response with the antistrophe at 1284–5 (cf. Hense, *RhM* n.s. 31 (1876) 593 n. 1).

(b) In the extant *Medea* it is possible to identify some dittographs (see D. L. Page, *Euripides Medea* (Oxford 1938) 124, comm. at 723 ff.).

This alleged evidence can be easily dismissed. On the first point, one could argue that the fact that some lines attested by other sources are not found in the present version of the play may be due to the process of textual transmission. Alternatively, these 'incriminated' lines can be interpolations introduced by actors: for instance, the above-mentioned iambic trimeter quoted by Cicero may be considered an interpolation constructed on the basis of E. *Medea* 294–301. Moreover, one has to take

into consideration the inaccuracy of the sources. Sch. in *Ach.* 119 may draw on another play in which the figure of Medea was quite important, for instance *Peliades* or *Aegeus*; see C. Collard and M. Cropp, *Euripides fragments* (2008), vii, 5, introd. to *Aegeus*; viii, 62, introd. to *Peliades*; cf. P. Elmsley, *Euripidis Heraclidae et Medea* (Oxford 1828) 241, and U. von Wilamowitz, *Analecta euripidea* (Berlin 1875) 150. In fact mistakes in attributions are very frequent in ancient commentaries, as L. Séchan, *REG* 40 (1927) 273 n. 1, points out: ‘il leur arrive également de citer un drame, non d’après son titre officiel, mais d’après un personnage qui y figure; c’est ainsi que les Bacchantes d’Euripide ont été appelées parfois Penthée; l’Oreste, Electre; les Troyennes, Hécube; etc.’; cf. for example Stob. 3.36.9.1, where verses from *Bacchae* are recorded as from *Pentheus*; cf. *ibid.* 4.4.2.1, 4.23.8.1. Alternatively, the expression contained in the Sch. in *Ach.* 119 may be wrongly attributed to Euripides: it could come from a *Medea* by another author (see below); cf. Elmsley, *Euripidis Heraclidae et Medea*, 242, who argues that it actually belongs to the ridiculed version of *Medea* by Melanthius (see below).

With regard to the second possibility we have mentioned, namely that the implication of **5093** is that the earlier *Medea* on which Euripides’ play was based and from which the two iambic verses come had been written by another author, it has to be said that there are many tragedians and comedy writers who wrote a play entitled *Medea*. To show the popularity of the subject in both Greek and Latin drama, it is worth giving here the complete list. Tragedians: Neophron (TrGF I, no. 15, test. 1–3, F 1–3), Euripides II (TrGF I, no. 17, test. 1), Melanthius (TrGF I, no. 23, test. 4a, b, F [1] = no. 131, F 1), Dicaeogenes (TrGF I, no. 52, F 1a), Carcinus II (TrGF I, no. 70, F 1c; A. Bélis, ‘Un papyrus musical inédit au Louvre’, *CRAI* 2004, fasc. 3, 1305–29; M. L. West, ‘A New Musical Papyrus: Carcinus, *Medea*’, *ZPE* 161 (2007) 1–10), Theodorides (TrGF I, no. 78A, test. 1), Diogenes Sinopensis (TrGF 88 T 1, 2, 3, F 1c) or Philiscus (TrGF I, no. 89, test. 2), Biotus? (TrGF I, no. 205), Ennius (fr. ciii–cxi Joce-lyn), Accius (TrRF, pp. 216–20 = ed. Budé by J. Dangel, pp. 202–6), Ovid (see Quint. 8.5.6, 10.1.98; Sen. *Suas.* 3.7; Tac. *Dial.* 12.6), Seneca, Lucan (see Vacca, *Vita M. Annaei Lucani*, in J. Endt (ed.), *Annotationes super Lucanum* (1909) p. 3.11; cf. A. Rostagni (ed.), *Svetonio De poetis e Biografi minori* (1944) p. 185.64), Curatius Maternus (see Tac. *Dial.* 3.4), Bassus? (see Martial 5.53.1). See also P. Lond. Lit. 77 (CGFP dubia 350; R. L. Hunter, ‘P. Lond. Lit. 77 and tragic burlesque in Attic comedy’, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 19–24; D. F. Sutton, *Papyrological Studies in Dionysiac Literature: P. Lit. Lond. 77 and P. Ross. Georg. I.11* (Oak Park, Ill. 1987) 9–53; A. Martina, ‘PLitLond 77, i frammenti della *Medea* di Neofrone e la *Medea* di Euripide’, in M. Capasso and S. Pernigotti (eds.), *Studium atque urbanitas: Miscellanea in onore di Sergio Daris* (Lecce 2001) 247–75; TrGF V.2, *Addenda et corrigenda in vol. 2*, 667a, pp. 1137–1142); and the lost anonymous tragedy illustrated in an Apulian volute-krater assigned to c.320 (LIMC s.v. *Medea*, no. 29; TrGF II Adesp. F 6a, cf. TrGF II, no. 29, F 1, and O. Taplin, *Pots & Plays: Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Los Angeles 2007) 255–7). Comedy writers: Epicharmus (PCG I, test. 35 and p. 55), Deinolochus (PCG I, test. 3, fr. 4–5), Cantharus (PCG IV, test. 1, fr. 1–4), Strattis (PCG VII, test. 1, fr. 34–6), Antiphanes (PCG II, fr. 151; cf. fr. 239), Rhinton (PCG I, fr. 7), Eubulus (PCG V, fr. 64 = fr. 64 Hunter). Among these authors Neophron deserves particular attention because of his relationship with Euripides in respect to *Medea*. This is illustrated by three ancient sources:

1. *Hypothesis E. Med.* 25–7 Diggle (= TrGF 15 T 2, Aristotle fr. 635 Rose = fr. 774 Gigon, Dicaearchus fr. 63 Wehrli) τὸ δράμα δοκεῖ ὑποβαλέσθαι παρὰ Νεόφρονος διασκευάσας, ὡς Δικαίαρχος (ἐν. . .) τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίου καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ὑπομνήμασι.

2. *Suda* v 218 (= TrGF 15 T 1) Νεόφρων ἢ Νεοφών, κικυώνιος, τραγικός· οὐ φασιν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Μῆδειαν· ὅς πρῶτος εἰσήγαγε παιδαγωγὸν καὶ οἰκετῶν βάσανον. ἐδίδαξε δὲ τραγωδίας ρκ’.

3. Diog. Laer. 2.134 (= TrGF 15 T 3, ex Antig. Caryst.) . . . τῆς Μηδείας τῆς Εὐριπίδου, ἣν ἐνιοὶ Νεόφρονος εἶναι τοῦ κικυωνίου φασίν.

The first witness states that it seems that Euripides took (down) the play *Medea* by Neophron through a process of revision (*διασκευάσας*; for the sense of this verb indicating revision of a literary work cf. [Aristeas], *Epistula ad Philocratem* 311; D. S. 1.5.2; Sch. Ar. *Nu.* 553; cf. E. Stemplinger, *Das*

Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur (Leipzig/Berlin 1912) 215–18). It records as sources Dicearchus and Aristotle (with regard to the latter note that the hypomnemata ascribed to him have been written by a pupil, probably Theophrastus). This piece of information is reported by the *Suda* and Diogenes Laertius much more vaguely and tout court in terms of plagiarism. The question whether we could rely on these witnesses charging Euripides of plagiarism, and whether Neophron really was the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* of the role of Medea as child-murderer has fuelled a huge debate (a useful and balanced overview is offered by B. Manuwald, ‘Der Mord an den Kindern: Bemerkungen zu den Medea-Tragödien des Euripides und des Neophron’, *WSt* 96 N.F. 17 (1983) 27–61, esp. 50–56).

On the one hand, some scholars hold the view that Euripides was inspired by Neophron and borrowed the child-murder motif from him; see for instance Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat* 20–21, and E. A. Thompson, ‘Neophron and Euripides’ *Medea*’, *CQ* 38 (1944) 10–14. The latter interestingly stresses the fact that E. *Medea* requires only two actors, although before 431 BC the third actor had already been used by Aeschylus and Sophocles: this would represent a piece of evidence for the dependence of Euripides on an earlier play, i.e. Neophron’s one (but cf. Mastronarde, *Medea*, 62 n. 99). Thompson also defends the reliability of a fourth-century scholar like Dicearchus, who had access to didascalic records of tragic performances and carried out work on them; cf. A. N. Michelini, ‘Neophron and Euripides’ *Medeia* 1056–80’, *TAPhS* 119 (1989) 115–35; R. Kannicht, B. Gauly, L. Käppel (eds.), *Musa Tragica: Die griechische Tragödie von Thespis bis Ezechiel; Ausgewählte Zeugnisse und fragmente griechisch und deutsch* (Göttingen 1991) 60–63, 274.

On the other hand, other scholars deny the possibility of Neophron’s priority in respect to Euripides on the basis of linguistic, metrical, and stylistic elements, which in their view should be ascribed to a fourth-century tragedian rather than a precursor of Euripides (see Page, *Medea*, pp. xxx–xxxvi; Mastronarde, *Medea*, 53, 60–64; J. Diggle, ‘Did Euripides Plagiarise the *Medea* of Neophron?’, *Φιλευριπίδης = Phileuripidès: Mélanges offerts à François Jouan* (Paris 2008) 405–11), or on the basis of a clear Aristotelian influence on Neophron (see Martina, ‘PLitLond 77’, 247–75; cf. Mastronarde, *Medea*, 63, and comm. on vv. 663–823, pp. 281–3). Moreover, the reliability of the witnesses on Neophron, in particular of the hypothesis, has been doubted (see Page, *Medea*, p. xxxvi; C. Barone, *RFIC* 106 (1978) 129–36; Diggle, ‘Did Euripides Plagiarise’, 406; Diggle, ‘Rhythmical Prose in the Euripidean Hypotheses’, in G. Bastianini, A. Casanova (eds.), *Euripide e i papiri* (Firenze 2005) 27–67). To these arguments, however, one could object that perhaps the fragments transmitted to us under the name of Neophron belong to a later tragedy by a fourth-century author and had wrongly been attributed to him. Besides, Van Leeuwen (see J. H. Goedhart, *De Medae mytho apud antiquos scriptores et artifices* (Leiden 1911) 4–5) hypothesizes that Euripides, after the failure of *Medea* in 431, modified his play and presented it again under Neophron’s name, a view that in a way assumes in reverse chronological order what could be supposed behind **5093**.

In any case, for the assessment of the text of **5093**, it is not necessary to establish whether Neophron was prior to Euripides or not, and ultimately to define in clear-cut terms the relationship between the two tragedians. However, we have certainly to take into consideration the existence and circulation of such information or, in other words, of such rumors within the ancient literary world, and the possibility that our author had access to them and to what extent. Further, if he had access to them, how and to what extent he exploited them for the construction of his speech. Finally, one should investigate the possible provenance of the two iambic verses quoted as from the alleged ‘Ur-*Medea*’. We could reconstruct several different scenarios.

(1) The author of **5093** knew another *Medea* (by Neophron or another of the numerous authors of a play with such a title), and had in his hands if not the entire play, at least part of it, possibly in the form of quotations in another work. It is possible that in his (supposed) source the author of such a *Medea* was not mentioned, so that he assumed that the play in question was the first version by the author *par excellence* of a *Medea*, Euripides. In this respect it is worth observing that the diction of

the two iambic verses quoted in **5093** appears *prima facie* 'Euripidean' (see below, 4–6 n.). Moreover, one has to take into consideration that lack or even absence of philological and historical accuracy is a well-known feature of declamation practice (see Russell, *Greek Declamation* 106–7, 113–28). In this respect, note that our author uses a rather vague expression to introduce the quotation—ὦν μέμνη(νταί) τινε[ς] (3–4)—which recalls the formulation of the witnesses of the *Suda* and Diogenes Laertius quoted above. (2) Alternatively, it is possible that he is using witnesses that already speak about an Ur-*Medea*, whether by Euripides or another author. (3) The speech in **5093** could be the result of the interaction and free combination of different elements: for example, knowledge of the 'literary gossip' on the alleged plagiarism of Neophron's *Medea* by Euripides, or vague information of the existence of an Ur-*Medea* could have been exploited in the elaboration of the story of a double redaction of *Medea* under the inspiration by the (documented) existence of a double redaction of the *Hippolytus*, due to reasons of decency and morality (see below, 11–14 n.), reasons that our author uses to motivate the 'reformation' of the Ur-*Medea*. For this purpose he could have exploited the two iambic verses found somewhere.

In other words, the account of the double redaction of *Medea* seems to be a fictional story. However, if it is not reliable in philological and historical terms, and therefore would not contribute to the clarification of the relationship between Neophron and Euripides, it is certainly extremely interesting for the story of the reception of the classical heritage in the first centuries of the common era, in particular by the Second Sophistic. The interest of this story should also be assessed in relation to Euripides' 'image' in literature, especially in the biography genre, heavily influenced by the representation of the tragedian in Old Comedy, and in the philological and scholiastic tradition; see D. Kovacs' introduction to the Loeb edition of Euripides, vol. i (2001²) 1–49; S. Scullion, *CQ* 53 (2003) 389–400; S. Schorn, *Satyros aus Kallatis: Sammlung der Fragmente mit Kommentar* (Basel 2004) 26–63.

Some examples of the type of material supposedly lying behind **5093** can be mentioned: the piece of information found in Sch. E. *Phoen.* 2, reporting an 'ancient opinion' according to which Sophocles criticized Euripides for not having prefixed lines 1–2 to that play (see D. J. Mastronarde, *Euripides Phoenissae* (Cambridge 1994) comm. ad loc., p. 140; cf. TrGF V.1, test. K a 73, p. 84); the rumors that Euripides received help by Socrates, Mnesicholos, Timocrates (or Democrates?) of Argos, and his slave Cephisophon in writing his plays (TrGF V.1, test. 1 IA.3 (p. 46), III. 3, p. 50, test. H, pp. 74–6; among them, test. H d 53 comes from the the *Life of Euripides* by Satyrus of Callatis, a biography in dialogue form transmitted by IX **1176**; see relevant sections of **1176**, cols. xii–xiii, in the re-edition and commentary by Schorn, *Satyros* 104–5, 298–302; on Socrates' influence on Euripides, see excursus on pp. 227–31); the story told by Parmeniscus (Schol. *Med.* 9) that Euripides transferred the infanticide to Medea after receiving five talents from the Corinthians, whose ancestors, according to a version of the myth, were the murderers of Medea's children (cf. Mastronarde, *Medea* 6 n. 17, 50–51); the concrete support Euripides provided to Timotheus, who was depressed because of the failure of the New Music, by writing for him the proem of the *Persai* (TrGF V.1, test. K d 87a, pp. 88–9, from the *Life* by Satyrus; see the relevant section of **1176**, fr. 39 col. xxii in the re-edition and commentary by Schorn, *Satyros* 111–12, 341–6); the proverbial misogyny of the tragedian as reflected in his plays in relation to his personal life and marriage troubles (TrGF V.1, test. 1 A III.2, p. 50, IV.1 and 2, pp. 50–51, test. 2, pp. 51–3, test. 3. 3 and 4, p. 54, test. 4, p. 55, lines 19–20, test. K, pp. 83–8, test. O f, pp. 99–101; cf. **1176**, fr. 39 cols. x–xv, re-edited and commented by Schorn, *Satyros* 102–6, 285–308); the relationship with Sophocles, connoted both by rivalry and friendship (TrGF V.1, test. A 1A.11 (p. 48), test. A 4, p. 56, lines 33–43; test. K a, pp. 83–6).

The image of Euripides emerging from **5093** is that of a tragedian seeking success by pleasing the Athenian audience through the revision of badly-received plays, *Medea* and (implicitly) *Hippolytus*. This attitude may further be illustrated by an anecdote from the *Life* by Satyrus. Here lines from *Melanippe Desmotis* are quoted to demonstrate that Euripides 'corrected' his misogynist attitude after

women plotted against him at the Thesmophoria (1176, fr. 39, cols. x–xii; see re-edition and commentary in Schorn, *Satyros* 102–3, 285–95; cf. J. C. Gibert, *CQ* 47 (1997) 93); variants of the episode are found in the anonymous *Life of Euripides*, where the tragedian is spared from murder under the promise not to criticize women any more (TrGF V.1, test. 1 1A IV, pp. 50–51). Moreover, Plu. *Amatorius* 756bc (Mor. 4, 355, 3 Hubert) reports that Euripides revised the opening line of *Melanippe Sophe* for a second performance because the original version caused an uproar (see TrGF V.1, F 480; Gibert, *CQ* 47, 92–3): this episode probably originated from a misidentification of the ‘incriminated’ verse as the first line of the *Melanippe Sophe*, but in fact the verse seems to be a comic conflation of Euripidean phrases.

Finally, it is worth mentioning another presumably fictional episode of Euripides’ biography exploited in declamation practice: it is the accusation of impiety against Euripides for having portrayed in a blasphemous and irreverent way Heracles in his madness, proposed as a theme for a melete in the list for declamation topics preserved in XXIX 2400 10–14. This recalls Arist. *Rhet.* 1416a, who records that the charge of ἀσέβεια was brought against Euripides in the course of a trial for ἀντίδοσις, on the basis of the content of *Hipp.* 612 (ὡς περὶ Εὐριπίδης πρὸς ὑγιαίνοντα ἐν τῇ ἀντιδόσει κατηγοροῦντα ὡς ἀσεβῆς, ὃς γ’ ἐποίησε κελεύων ἐπιτοκεῖν ‘ἢ γλώσσει ὀμώμοχ’, ἣ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος’); cf. also 1176, fr. 39, col. x; see re-edition and commentary in Schorn, *Satyros* 102–3, 282–5).

To sum up, in 5093 any use of the available material seems to aim at the rhetorical effect rather than at the logic of the argument. For example, the alleged major difference between the *Ur-Medea* and *Medea* ‘reformed’ is presented as a substantial change of plot (6–7 καθόλου|τε τὴν οἰκονομ(ίαν) ἀλλάξας), but in reality it seems to consist in a change in the production and stage conventions: both children are killed inside, but are killed anyway as in the first version.

1 The participle ποιοῦντες implies a plural subject; at the very beginning of the line -σαν may represent the end of an aorist indicative of the third person plural; the accusative τὴν ὄψιν could be the object of this verb. At the beginning of 2, ὄθεν may introduce the alleged drastic revision of the plot by Euripides as a consequence of the action performed by the plural subject of the previous sentence. Given that Euripides’ aim—as illustrated in the following part of the text—consists in gaining the favour of the audience and winning the first prize, it is likely that the subject of the first sentence was the spectators, οἱ θεαταί. Here the noun ὄψιν clearly indicates the spectacle. Further, given the emphasis on Euripides’ revision, it is likely that the first sentence deals with a negative reaction by the audience at the performance of *Medea I*. On this basis a plausible supplement could be ἔδυσχέρα]]σαν. For the *unctura* cf. Philo *De specialibus legibus* 3.50.5 Cohn τὴν αὐτὴν ὄψιν δυσχεραίνοντες, and Plu. *De cohibenda ira* 456b. For the use of ὄψιν in relation to dramatic performances, see e.g. Arist. *Poet.* 1449b, 1450a, 1453b.

2 ἐπανορθωσάμενος. The restoration of α is compatible with the traces and the available space: the letter appears to be rather narrow, like the initial α of the sequence αγριουσι at 25; compare the ligature αΝ with the first two letters of the sequence αναν at the end of 5.

4 διαγράψας. For the use of this verb in the technical sense of ‘cross out’, cf. Pl. *Rep.* 387b, E. *El.* 1073, Aristoph. *Nu.* 774; Schol. in Dem. *In Neiram* (59) 1; Schol. vet. in Hes. *Op.* 561–3, 757–9 (*atheteseis* by Plutarch); Schol. in Hes. *Op.* ‘Prolegomena Ac’ (p. 2 Pertusi).

Note the match between the two verbs of 5093 ἐπανορθωσάμενος and διαγράψας and the verbs ὑποβαλέσθαι and διασκευάσας used in the *Hypothesis E. Med.* quoted above at 1–14 n.

4–10 This section is particularly interesting in relation to a well-known convention of Greek drama: scenes of violence, murder, and suicide are not to be represented on stage, but narrated by a messenger. For the phrase in 9–10 μὴ ἐν φανερωῶ cf.: Philostr. *VA VI* 11, p. 219.29–30 Kayser τὸ ὑπὸ κληνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπενόησεν (sc. Aeschylus), ὡς μὴ ἐν φανερωῶ εφάττοι; Schol. in Aesch. *Cho.* 904, which explains that Orestes orders to his mother to follow him into the palace ἵνα μὴ ἐν φανερωῶ ἢ ἀναίρεσις γένηται. (Note that the meaning of the phrase μὴ ἐν φανερωῶ is different from the expression

in Arist. *Poet.* 1452b 11–12 οἷ τε ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ θάνατοι (with the article), to be taken as ‘made public’ in the sense of ‘made known’; cf. A. Andrisano, ‘Aristot. Poct. 1452b9–13 (οἷ τε ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ θάνατοι)’, *Museum criticum* 30–31 (1995–6) 189–216, esp. 195–203, 210–11.)

This aspect can be illustrated by considering the following passages:

1) Arist. *Poet.* 1453b 1–14 ἔστιν μὲν οὖν τὸ φοβερόν καὶ ἔλεεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως γίνεσθαι, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς κυστάσεως τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πρότερον καὶ ποιητοῦ ἀμείνονος. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ὄραν οὕτω συνεστάναι τὸν μῦθον ὥστε τὸν ἀκούοντα τὰ πράγματα γινόμενα καὶ φρίττειν καὶ ἐλεεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων· ἅπερ ἂν πάθοι τις ἀκούων τὸν τοῦ Οἰδίπου μῦθον. τὸ δὲ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν ἀτεχνότερον καὶ χορηγίας δεόμενόν ἐστιν. οἱ δὲ μὴ τὸ φοβερόν διὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἀλλὰ τὸ τερατώδες μόνον παρασκευάζοντες οὐδὲν τραγωδία κοινωνοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ πάσαν δεῖ ζητεῖν ἡδονὴν ἀπὸ τραγωδίας ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκείαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου διὰ μιμήσεως δεῖ ἡδονὴν παρασκευάζειν τὸν ποιητὴν, φανερόν ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμποιητέον.

2) Hor. *AP* 179–187 *aut agitur res in scaenis aut acta refertur. / segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, / quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae / ipse sibi tradit spectator. non tamen intus / digna geri promes in scaenam, multaue tolles / ex oculis quae mox narret facundia praesens: / ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet, / aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus, / aut in aem Procne uertatur, Cadmus in anguem.* Cf. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The ‘Ars Poetica’* (1971) 244.

3) Sch. vet. in Soph. *Ajax* 815a ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἔστηκεν· μετακινεῖται ἢ σκηνη ἐπὶ ἐρήμου τινὸς χωρίου, ἐνθα ὁ Αἴας εὐτρεπίσας τὸ ξίφος ῥῆσιν τινα πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου προφέρεται· ἐπεὶ γελοῖον ἦν κωφὸν εἰσελθόντα περιπεσεῖν τῷ ξίφει. ἔστι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς σπάνια· εἰώθασιν γὰρ τὰ πεπραγμένα δι’ ἀγγέλων ἀπαγγέλλειν. τί οὖν τὸ αἴτιον; φθάνει Αἰσχύλος ἐν Θρήσσαις (TrGF III F 83) τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Αἴαντος δι’ ἀγγέλου ἀπαγγείλας. ἴσως οὖν καινοτομεῖν βουλόμενος καὶ μὴ κατακολουθεῖν τοῖς ἐτέρου (ἴχνησιν), ὑπ’ ὧσιν ἔθηκε τὸ δρώμενον ἢ μᾶλλον ἐκπλήξαι βουλόμενος. εἰκῆ γὰρ κατηγορεῖν ἀνδρὸς παλαιοῦ οὐχ ὄσιον οὐδὲ δίκαιον. πῆξας δὲ τὸ ξίφος ταῦτά φησιν. σφαγέα δὲ λέγει ἢ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὸν διὰ τῆς σφαγῆς θάνατον ἢ τὸ ξίφος. On the *vexata quaestio* of Ajax’ suicide, see S. Scullion, *Three Studies in Athenian Dramaturgy* (1994), chap. 3, ‘The Staging of Sophokles’s *Aias*’, 89–128.

5) Sch. in *Il.* VI 58b 68–74 μηδ’ ὄντινα (<----- μηδ’ ὅς φύγοι>· μισητὰ καὶ οὐχ ἀρμόζοντα βασιλικῶ ἦθει τὰ ῥήματα· τρόπον γὰρ δείκνυσι θηριότητα, ὁ δὲ ἀκροατὴς ἄνθρωπος ὢν μισεῖ τὸ ἄγαν πικρὸν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον. ὅθεν κὰν ταῖς τραγωδίαις κρύπτουσι τοὺς δρώντας τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ ἢ φωναῖς τινας ἐξακουόμεναις ἢ δι’ ἀγγέλων ὕστερον σημαίνουσι τὰ πραχθέντα, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ φοβούμενοι, μὴ αὐτοὶ συμμισηθῶσι τοῖς δρωμένοις.

Horace’s passage is particularly interesting and raises the question why in the first century BC Horace felt the necessity to state the principle of not representing murder on stage—in which he explicitly mentions Medea’s murder. *Ex silentio* it is not implausible to assume that in the post-classical period stage conventions changed, and violence and murder were actually represented on stage. On the contrary, Seneca represents the murder by Medea on stage, in a rather ‘emphasized’ form that has been interpreted as an intentional and explicit violation of the Horatian principle: Medea, after having killed one child, climbs with his corpse and the other child onto the roof of the palace to be seen by Jason and by the people, where she accomplishes her revenge by killing the other son. Here she speaks in a ‘meta-theatrical way’, saying that her act must not remain *in occulto* (vv. 976 ff.); see G. Rosati, ‘Sangue sulla scena: Un precetto oraziano (“Ars poet.” 185) e la “Medea” di Seneca’, in A. Delfino (ed.), *Varietà d’harmonia et d’affetto: Studi in onore di G. Marzi per il suo LXX compleanno* (1995) 3–10; A. Rodighiero, *La parola, la morte, l’eroe: Aspetti di poetica sofoclea* (2000) 63–114, Rodighiero, “Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet”: alcuni modi dell’infanticidio’, in O. Vox (ed.), *Ricerche euripidee* (2003) 122–6.

4–6 It is worth comparing the two iambic lines quoted in 5093 with some verses from E. *Medea*, in order to appreciate the fact that, at least on the surface, the two trimeters present a Euripidean

diction. Some Euripidean verses present the motif of the right hand: 21–2 βοᾶ μὲν ὄρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶς/πίστιν μεγίστην (the right hand as symbol of the marriage alliance); 496 φεῦ δεξιὰ χεῖρ, ἦς ἐν πόλλ' ἐλαμβάνου (Medea addresses Jason); 899 λάβετε χεῖρὸς δεξιᾶς (Medea informs her sons of her reconciliation with Jason and invites them to take Jason's hand); 1365 οὔτοι νῦν ἡμῇ δεξιὰ γ' ἀπώλεσεν (the speaker is Jason). Note also that at v. 1244 Medea addresses her own hand and exhorts it to take the sword to proceed to the murder: ἄγ', ὦ τάλαινα χεῖρ ἐμῇ, λαβὲ ξίφος; cf. Neophron, TrGF I, no. 15, F 2, 12–13: . . . ὦ χέρεις, χέρεις, / πρὸς οἶον ἔργον ἐξοπλιζόμεσθα· φεῦ; on the motif of the hands, cf. Mastronarde, *Medea*, 28–31; However, the most interesting verse for comparison is 1271, pronounced by one of the children from inside, at the very moment of the murder, in which both motifs—the hand and the escape—occur: οἴμοι, τί δράσω; ποῖ φύγω μητρὸς χέρας; For the structure of the question, cf. also *Ph.* 1674 ποῖ γὰρ ἐκφεύξῃ λέχος; *IT* 1274 ποῖ δέ σ' ἐκφύγοιεν ἄν;

Moreover, the phrase τιθεῖς ἔχνος in 6 recalls ἔχνος τιθείς in *Ion* 741, *Ph.* 836, and ποδοῦς ἔχνος in *Ion* 792, *Troad.* 3, *IT* 752, *Ph.* 105, fr. 530.7, *Or.* 140–41. Examining the two trimeters of **5093** more closely, they seem to be rather grotesque as pronounced by a murderous mother, who reproaches her son—trying to escape from her—with cowardice for hating her hand. In particular, the phrase ἀνάνδρου βήματος (5–6), if referring to a little child who is trying to escape the murderous hand of his own mother, sounds really awkward. It is true (as suggested by L. Carrara) that one could give to the adjective ἀνανδρος the neutral meaning of 'not yet a man', i.e. 'still a child' (cf. *Lib. Decl.* xxiii 59 (vi, 413.7 Foerster); *Diogenian*, CPG II i 12), but perhaps the meaning of 'coward' fits better the context, characterized by absurd indignation at the attempt at escape and the equally absurd accusation of hate. If these trimeters were really part of a tragedy, one should explain the grotesque quality as due to the madness of Medea, and perhaps assume that she sees in her child Jason's son, to whom she transfers the anger caused by Jason's cowardice cf. *E. Medea* 466, where Medea accuses Jason of ἀνανδρία, and note that at 463 the verb *τυγεῖν* defines in Jason's speech Medea's feelings towards him. However, in my opinion, they would fit better a satyr drama or a comic parody. In this respect it is worth noticing that with regard to *E. Medea* 1271 there is a sort of reversal of the point of view: in Euripides there is the point of view of the victim, in the verses of **5093** the point of view of the aggressor (I owe this point to A. Rodighiero).

Moreover, the trimeters themselves do not imply that the infanticide is taking place on stage: the lines could be pronounced inside. In other words, the play to which they belong did not necessarily include a scene of violence represented on stage, as the text of **5093** implies. In other words, our rhetor could have freely exploited these verses by presenting them as illustrating a child-murder on stage. In any case, the fact that he has done this leads us to speculate on the possibility that in the post-classical period theatrical conventions had been modified to the extent of including the representation of violent death in front of the audience (in general, on the possibility of introduction of variants—not only in the *mise-en-scène* but also in the text—in local re-performances of plays that could be traced back on the basis of vase-painting even to the fourth century BC; see Taplin, *Pots & Plays* 120–21). This may be suggested by the Sch. vet. in *Soph. Ajax* 815a, quoted above (4–10 n.), which implies that the suicide of Ajax took place on stage (commentators relates it to the use—in post-classical times—of a 'theatrical sword', with a special blade which could be pressed back into the hilt, mentioned by the second-century sophist Polemon in *Hesych.* s.v. *κυρπαστόν*, and described by Achilles Tatius 3.20.7, 3.21.3–4 Garnaud). Besides, Horace's stress on the convention of avoiding violence on stage, with the mention of the specific episode of *Medea*, may lead to speculation whether in the first century BC an adaptation of *E. Medea* or another tragedy by the same title could have contained the representation of the infanticide on stage. Therefore it is not impossible that our author could have had direct experience of some staging of this kind or have access to information about them.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a rope-handled amphora, kept in Paris, Cab. Méd. 876', from Nola (examined in *LIMC*, s.v., p. 391, no. 30, c.330 BC). Here Medea is portrayed in her barbarian cos-

tume, with the Phrygian cap: one of the sons is represented already killed, and his corpse lies across an altar; the other child tries to escape, but Medea grasps his hair with the hand that holds the sword. At upper right the tutor in mourning appears. Prima facie the depicted scene seems to correspond to the scene implied by the two trimeters of **5093**. However, methodological caution is necessary in considering this as a virtual piece of evidence for the representation on the infanticide on stage, since the painter—in this specific case as well as in general—could portray an episode narrated by the messenger in a performed tragedy, modifying elements, adding details according to variants of the same myth or to a specific iconographical tradition, or his own creativity and taste (cf. Taplin, *Pots & Plays* 22–6, 62–4, 114–25, 255–7, 280 n. 12; F. Caruso, ‘Medea senza Euripide: Un frammento attico da Siracusa e la questione della Medea di Neofrone’, in R. Gigli (ed.), *ΜΕΓΑΛΑΙ ΝΗΚΟΙ: Studi dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per il suo ottantesimo compleanno* (2005), ii. 341–54). In any case it is certainly interesting that the amphora documents the murder of the two children as clearly distinct moments, recalling what happens in Seneca’s *Medea* (see above, 4–10 n.).

7 *οἰκονομ(ίαν)* is to be taken as a *terminus technicus* in the sense of ‘organization of the subject-matter’; see R. Meijering, *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia* (1987) esp. 134–8, 156–7, 171–3, 177–80; R. Grisolia, *Οἰκονομία: Struttura e tecnica drammatica negli scoli antichi ai testi drammatici* (Napoli 2001) esp. 73–95; R. Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (2009), 24–34; cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1453a 29 (*οἰκονομέω*).

11–14 The general sense of the passage here seems to be that the author has previously treated another similar episode of Euripides’ career, the revision of *Hippolytus*, whose second redaction was actually successful and gained the first prize for the tragedian. The alleged parallel case of the revision of *Medea*, on the contrary, was a failure: hence the ‘apparent contradiction’ that has caused the resentment of the audience, a contradiction that is implicitly explained in what follows: the unexpected lack of success of Euripides on account of irrational judgment by the foolish crowd (15–23).

As said above, the double redaction of *Hippolytus* is documented by the *Hypothesis E. Hipp.* 25–30 Diggle (Ar. Byz.; TrGF V.1 (34) et (35) *ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ Α’ et Β’*, test. 1, pp. 459–60) ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν †Θήβαις† ἐδιδάχθη (sc. *Ἰππόλυτος*) ἐπὶ Ἐπαμείνονος ἄρχοντος (a. 429/8) Ὀλυμπιάδι πζ’ (87) ἔτει δ’ (i.e. Dion. a. 428). πρῶτος Εὐριπίδης, δεύτερος Ἰοφῶν, τρίτος Ἴων. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Ἰππόλυτος δεύτερος, <δ> καὶ στεφανίας προσαγορευόμενος. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὕστερος γεγραμμένος· τὸ γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ διώρθωται τῷ δράματι. τὸ δράμα τῶν πρώτων. (For the interpretation, see W. Luppe, *Philologus* 142 (1998) 173–5; Luppe, *ZPE* 151 (2005) 11–14; Luppe, *ZPE* 156 (2006) 38.) It is worth noticing that the revision is presented in terms of *διόρθωσις*, as in **5093** fr. 1+2 xiv 2 *ἐπανορθωσάμενος*, and similarly motivated by reasons of morality and decency. In several ancient sources the two versions are distinguished as *Ἰππόλυτος (Κατα)Καλυπτόμενος* and *Ἰππόλυτος στεφανίας* or *στεφανηφόρος* respectively (see W. S. Barrett, *Hippolytos* (1964) 10 n. 1, 37 n. 1; TrGF V.1, p. 459, test. iv, pp. 464–5; cf. also pp. 465–6); on the recent debate of the ‘actual’ meaning of *(Κατα)Καλυπτόμενος* see M. Magnani, *Eikasmos* 15 (2004) 227–40, esp. 239–40; W. Luppe, ‘Die Hypothesis zum ersten Hippolytos’, in Bastianini–Casanova, *Euripide e i papiri* 87–96, esp. 89). Ancient witnesses and extant fragments (see TrGF V.1, test. *ii c, iiiia, iiib, F 430, 432–434; detailed treatment in Barrett, *Hippolytos* 10–45, but cf. Gilbert, *CQ* 47, 85–97) may suggest that Phaedra made a directly sexual advance to Hippolytus. On this basis one could think that this striking scene—i.e. the scene that may have been the major cause of the failure of the play—could have taken place onstage, ἐν φανερώ (cf. Barrett, *Hippolytos* 11: ‘It is likely that Phaedra made her approach to Hippolytos in person and on the stage’; cf. Collard and Cropp, *Euripides*, introd. to *Hippolytus Veiled*, 466–71, esp. 467–70), as the striking *τεκνοκτονία* in the alleged version I of *Medea* in **5093**.

Hippolytus is not the only case of double redaction in Euripides’ career: there are attested an *Autolykos A* and *B* (TrGF V.1 (15) and (16), fr. 282–284, pp. 342–7), a *Phrixus A* and *B* (TrGF V.2, (75) and (77), pp. 856–76), and perhaps also an alternative version of *Heracles* in P. Hibeh II 179 (TrGF

V.2 F **953c; W. Luppe, *ZPE* 95 (1993) 59–64; *Eos* 84 (1996) 234–5; R. Janko, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 1–6), if it was not an adaptation of the play for a later production. Besides it is worth considering Schol. in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1400, a verse quoting a Euripidean line (TrGF V.2 F 888): it reports that Aristarchus thought that this verse may belong to an earlier version of *Telephos* (cf. a similar opinion of Aristarchus on the proem of the *Archelaus*, reported by Schol. in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1206–8; see TrGF V.2 F 846 and S. Scullion, ‘The Opening of Euripides’ *Archelaus*’, in D. Cairns and V. Liapis (eds.), *Dionysalexandros: Essays on Aeschylus and His Fellow Tragedians in Honour of Alexander F. Garvie* (2006) 185–200).

11–12 τεθορύβηθε. The occurrence of this verb is a significant rhetorical device: it expresses a strong reaction from the audience to the speech. Interestingly, the second person plural is used in addressing directly the audience, often in the attempt to prevent an expected ‘hostile’ reaction to the words of the speaker: Pl. *Ap.* 20e 3–5 καί μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θορυβήσητε, μηδ’ ἐὰν δόξω τι ὑμῖν μέγα λέγειν; Dem., *Περὶ συντάξεως* (xiii), 167 ἐγὼ δέ φημι δεῖν (καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσητ’ ἐφ’ ᾧ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἀκούσαντες κρίνατε); Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxviii, 6.16–17 μὴ θορυβήσητε δὲ ἀρχομένῳ πάλιν, ἀλλ’ ὑπομείνατε; *Or.* xxxii, 12.2–3 . . . (sc. ποιηταὶ καὶ ῥήτορες) εὐλαβούμενοι μὴ μεταξὺ θορυβήσητε καὶ παραπήμψετε αὐτούς. For comparable occurrences see also: Aeschin., *Contra Timarchum* (1) 78 . . . εὐθὺς οἶμαι θορυβεῖτε ὑμεῖς ὡς οὐ μετὸν τῷ κρινομένῳ τῆς πόλεως; cf. 82, and Aristid. xxxvii, 465.28–30 (a sort of *captatio benevolentiae* in the proemium) εἴ τι κάμοι μέτεστω, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, παρρησίας, πειράσομαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων εἰπεῖν ἃ γιγνώσκω, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν μὴ θορυβήσαι πρὶν ἂν πάντων ἀκούσητε; Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxiv, 6.23–4 . . . ἐὰν γὰρ ὑμῖν δοκῶ φλυαρεῖν, οὐ δῆπου λίθοις βαλεῖτέ με, ἀλλὰ θορυβήσετε; *Or.* xlvī, 10.3–4 πάλιν αὖ θορυβεῖτε, ὥσπερ ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτὸν τοσοῦτου προσήκει εἶναι καὶ μηδέποτε ἤττονος. It must be noted that all the examples are in the active form. In the passive form the verb may mean ‘to be thrown into disorder, confused’ (see LSJ s.v.). The occurrence in **5093** perhaps also contains a nuance of this meaning also. However, I have kept the meaning of ‘to protest’ in the translation on the basis that, if the passive meaning of being confused was meant in the first place, we would have expected in what follows a dative of agent or a construction with ὑπὸ + genitive instead of the construction with πρὸς + accusative.

14–22 Interpretation and evaluation of this section are problematic. On the one hand, the hypothesis of *Medea* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (*Hypothesis E. Med.* 40–44 Diggles (Arist. Byz.) ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος (a. 432/1) Ὀλυμπιάδι πζ’ (87) ἔτει α’ (i.e. Dion. a. 431). πρῶτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδεία, Φιλοκτήτη, Δίκτυι, Θερισταῖς κατύροις. οὐ κώζεται) states that Sophocles obtained the second place and Euripides the third, while the first prize was assigned to Euphorion. The text names only the plays presented by Euripides; nothing is said about the works presented by the two other competitors. On the other hand, no information is provided by ancient sources on the date of the production of *Tereus*: we have only a *terminus ante quem*, the year 414 BC, which is the date of the production of Aristophanes’ *Birds*, where *Tereus-Hooper* refers to the Sophoclean treatment of the myth (vv. 100–101).

Among modern scholars there are different positions on this matter, based on internal elements, especially with regard to the chronological relationship of the Sophoclean play with *Medea*, with which it shares the motif of child-murder. Some claim that it is later than *Medea*, alleging imitation of Euripides’ play by Sophocles; others that it is earlier, arguing that Euripides was influenced by *Tereus* in introducing into *Medea*’s myth the previously unknown child-murder. Moreover, other scholars based their views on the historical and contemporary political situation as allegedly reflected in the play, or on specific aspects of content or language and style. However, no argument is decisive (see bibliography on the problem in TrGF IV, p. 436, with update in A. H. Sommerstein, D. Fitzpatrick, T. Talbot, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, i (2006) 157–9).

How shall we then interpret the formulation of **5093**? The text does not state explicitly that Euripides and Sophocles competed with *Medea* and *Tereus* respectively in the same tragic contest. *Prima facie* it cannot be ruled out the possibility that **5093** refers to two different tragic contests at

which these two plays—with very similar plots—were received in a completely different way: one won, the other failed. However, the situation is represented in a ‘dramatic’ way, so that the reader visualizes the crowning of Sophocles under the eyes of Euripides and the (supposed) consequent angry reaction by the latter as taking place at the same time and on the same scene. Therefore, on the basis of this dramatized way of reporting the facts and the rhetorical formulation of the text, it appears more probable that the author implies that the two tragedians competed at the same tragic contest, the one of 431 BC, at which, according to Aristophanes of Byzantium’s hypothesis, Sophocles got the second prize after Euphorion. But in **5093** we are told that Sophocles was the winner and was crowned. Does this statement really mean that he got the first prize? Or does it mean simply that he was acclaimed superior to Euripides by qualifying himself for the second place?

At this point one may wonder whether the author of **5093** knew *Medea*’s hypothesis. Assuming that he did, and that he knew or supposed that Sophocles presented *Tereus* in 431 BC, he may have limited his consideration to Euripides and Sophocles in terms of competitors/candidates for the victory: in this perspective, it appears to be appropriate to designate Sophocles as *ὁ νικήσας* in respect to Euripides. One could also observe that the winner of the first prize, Euphorion, son of Aeschylus, according to a (doubtful) tradition won four victories with unproduced plays by his father, as well as with his own plays (TrGF I, no. 12, test. 1, p. 88). On this basis, our author might not have considered Euphorion as a real contestant in comparison with Sophocles and Euripides, who presented two of their own plays with striking similarities of plot. Or he may simply have disregarded Euphorion, an almost unknown author in comparison with Sophocles and Euripides, who had long formed with Aeschylus the canonical triad of ‘classical’ tragedy (already officially decreed, so to say, by Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, produced in 405 BC). But what is more likely is that our rhetor, in building his arguments to support his point about Tragedy, has simply ignored historical and philological accuracy: not only he would not have thought of checking historical records of tragic contests—if they could have been available to him—but he could have intentionally decided to exploit in a free way, in other words to fictionalize, historical facts in order to create his own picture, following the well-known tendency of declamation practice to manipulate historical and mythical material to fit a specific argument (see above, 1–14 n.).

In any case, the author has managed to give his account ‘historical plausibility’, as he has done in the case of the alleged ‘reformed’ *Medea*, which appears to be constructed on the historically documented revision of the *Hippolytus*. He could have been inspired by the fact that Sophocles beat Euripides in 428 BC, as the *Hyp. in Alcestim* (Diggle p. 34.17–18) states: *πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς, δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμέωνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος, Τηλέφῳ, Ἀλκῆτιδι, (τρίτος . . .)*. If we assume that he means that the two plays were competing at two different contests, *Tereus* seems to be presented as later than the ‘reformed’ *Medea* (as some modern scholars have proposed in the attempt to date *Tereus*; see G. Radke, RE s.v. Prokne, xxxiii.1, 251). If we assume, on the contrary, the implication to be that *Tereus* was represented at the same contest as the *Medea*, it should be placed in 431 BC, a date that is not implausible (and also has been already proposed by T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Sophocles* (1936) 4, on the basis of similarities with *Trachiniae* in terms of content and metre; on the date of the latter P. E. Easterling, *Sophocles Trachiniae* (1982) 19–23; M. Davies, *Sophocles Trachiniae* (1991) p. xviii n. 4). In any case, on the basis of the general unreliability of our author, **5093** does not provide any piece of evidence to be taken seriously in chronologically placing *Tereus*.

16–22 I have transcribed and interpreted the sequence after *ἐφ’ ᾧ* as *κᾶν*, written rather cursorily; cf. fr. 3*bis* ↓ 3. Alternatively, one could think of the abbreviation *κ(αι)*. However, in the rest of the text the sign for the abbreviation of this conjunction consists of a clear-cut diagonal stroke (descending from left to right), while in this sequence the *κ* clearly bears a loop shaping a cursive *λ* and reaching the baseline to shape an even more cursive *ν*. The passage sounds rather elliptical. The fully expressed thought seems to be: *ἐφ’ ᾧ [εἰ Εὐριπίδης ἐχέτλιαζεν] κᾶν σφόδρ’ εἰκότως ἐς[χ] ἐτλίαζεν κτλ.*, ‘at which [if Euripides complained], he would have complained very reasonably . . .’.

The section in 17–22 (εἰ . . . παραθεῖσαν) is not the actual protasis, but rather has causal sense; see Kühner–Gerth, *Grammatik* ii §577.1.

The passage stresses the ethnic difference between Medea, a barbarian woman, and Procne, of Attic parentage: the latter commits a crime even worse—coupling infanticide and cannibalism—and, being a Greek woman, her act should have caused a stronger reaction by the audience than the reaction towards Medea, whose deviant behaviour could be considered less striking as being related to her barbarian/wild/uncivilized nature.

18 ἐξέβαλον. In this context, the two meanings of the verb overlap, the general one ‘to banish’, and the technical one ‘to drive somebody from the stage’; for the latter sense, cf. Dem. *De falsa legatione* (19) 337 with comm. ad loc. in D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes: On the False Embassy (Oration 19)* (2000) 352–3. This appears to be an elegant stylistic device. Note that the verb occurs in E. *Medea*, referring to the exile of Medea, in 373, 749 (here as the mere possibility that she will be banished by Aegeus in the future), and 1357.

21 θοῖναν. I take this as the accusative of θοῖνα, a form of θοῖνη used in the post-classical period (see, for example, LXX *iii Mach.* 5.312, *Sapientia Salomonis* 12.52, Athen. III 91c); cf. Hansen, *Das attizistische Lexikon* 106 θοῖνη Ἀττικοί, θοῖνα Ἑλληνες (= Bekker, *Moeris et Harpocratio* 198.28). Alternatively we could consider θοινᾶν as an epexegetic infinitive.

22–3 ἔμπληκτον φύσει | κ(αὶ) μεστὸν ἀλόγου φορᾶς sounds rather idiomatic and stereotyped, as showed by several comparable passages: Plu. *E.* 3.10.2 τὸν Λεόννατον ἔμπληκτον ὄντα καὶ φορᾶς μεστὸν ἀβεβαίου καὶ ὀξείας ἀπογνοῦς . . . ; Posidonius, fr. 187.49 Edelstein–Kidd ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πάθος οὐχ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆ τῆ φύσει, ὁ δὲ μὴ κατὰ πάθος ὁμολογουμένως ζῆ τῆ φύσει. ἔπεται γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ ἀλόγῳ καὶ ἔμπλήκτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὁ δὲ τῷ λογικῷ τε καὶ τῷ θείῳ; D. C. *Historiae Romanae*, 77.5.2 [Chilon] ἔμπληκτος γὰρ φύσει πρὸς πάντα τὰ πράγματα ὧν καὶ ἐτίμα τιὰς μεγάλως καὶ ἠτίμαζεν ἐξαιφνης τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀλογώτατα; Lib. *Orat.* xlix 19 (vol. iii, 461.22–3 Foerster) στρατηγὸν δούλον ὀργῆς καὶ μεστὸν φορᾶς.

23–7 εἰς αἶγας ἀγρίας is the traditional formula for averting illness, especially epilepsy, by transferring it to a ‘scapegoat’. It is well documented in the *paraemiographi*: Diogenian. CPG I, v 49, p. 261 κατ’ αἶγας ἀγρίας· ὁμοία τῆ ἐς κόρακας (cf. Apostol. CPG II, ix 61, p. 474); Macarius, CPG II, iii 59, p. 161 εἰς αἶγας ἀγρίας· ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ κακὰ ἀποτροπιαζομένων. Compare also Hesych. κ 1123 κατ’ αἶγας ἀγρίας· παροιμία λεγομένη εἰς ἀγρίας αἶγας τρέπειν (τὴν νόσον), μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἱεράν. Moreover, it is alluded to in Call. *Aet.* III, fr. 75.12–14 Pfeiffer (δειελινῆν τὴν δ’ εἶλε κακὸς χλόος, ἦλθε δὲ νοῦκος, / αἶγας ἐς ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα, / ψευδόμενοι δ’ ἱερὴν φημίζομεν). At Athen. III 83a Μυρτίλος μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν, ὥσπερ εἰς αἶγας ἡμᾶς ἀγρίας ἀποπέμπων τοὺς ζητοῦντας . . . it is used in a more figurative sense, ‘send to the devil’, i.e. ‘reduce to silence’, with personal subject (Myrtilos stops questioning among the company by mentioning an authority on the subject of the debate), as equivalent of εἰς κόρακας ἀποπέμπειν (cf. Hesych. ε 1156, and s.v. *σκορακίζει 1102). The author of **5093** plays with this proverbial phrase by introducing his own alternative εἰς ἄνδρας ἀγρίους (24–5) in order to emphasize the brutality of Tragedy. The polemic is developed as a *κύγκρισις* of Tragedy and Comedy, in which both are to some extent anthropomorphized: Tragedy is to be exiled to the wild men, while Comedy should be escorted in a torchlit procession (a well-known structural motif from the comic genre itself; see 29–31 n.). I. Ruffell suggests that there may be a learned and sophisticated allusion to the comedy *Ἄγριοι* by Pherecrates (PCG VII, fr. 5–20), produced in 420 BC (test. in PCG VII, pp. 106–7; see P. Ceccarelli, ‘Life Among the Savages and Escape from the City’, in D. Harvey, J. Wilkins (eds.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy* (2000) 453–71, esp. 455–8; I. Ruffell, ‘The World Turned Upside Down: Utopia and Utopianism’, *ibid.* 473–506, esp. 493–5), and therefore contemporary with the tragedies considered in **5093**. But the fact that the formula is mentioned by Plato in *Prot.* 327c–d may suggest that our author has in mind Plato’s passage rather than anything about Pherecrates’ play.

The personification of literary genres recalls other well-known examples in classical literature: Poetry appears to be the protagonist in two fragmentary comedies both entitled *Ποίησις*, one by Aristophanes (PCG III.2, test. 2e.18, 2a.22, 1.59, fr. 466–467), the other by Antiphanes (PCG II, fr. 189). In the latter is also possible that the speaking character of the surviving fragment was in fact a personification of Comedy (see O. Bianco, *RCCM* 3 (1961) 91).

27–8 The adjective *χρηστός* applied to Comedy seems to have an ethical connotation relating to the dramatic effectiveness of this genre in transmitting positive values; in this sense cf. the Italian translation of the adjective as ‘valido’ at Arist. *Poet.* 1454a by P. Donini, *Aristotele Poetica* (2008) with detailed explanation at 103 n. 165.

βιολόγος occurs in inscriptions to indicate a mime actor; see F. Perpillou-Thomas, *ΖΡΕ* 108 (1998) 230; the same meaning is to be found in VII 1025 7–8, ‘Engagement of Performers’, assigned to the late 3rd c., from Euergetis, Cynopolite?). Cf. L. Robert, *REG* 49 (1936) 237–43 (= Robert, *Opera minora selecta: Épigraphe et antiquités grecques* i (1969) 673–80); C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (1993) 19, 22; R. Webb, ‘Female Entertainers in Late Antiquity’, in P. Easterling, E. Hall (eds.), *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession* (2002) 282–303, at 290, 301–2. In 5093 the word seems to mean ‘imitating and representing ordinary life’. Here it might be translated as ‘realistic’, but probably the author chose the word carefully to suit his personification of Comedy as a comic actor (29–30). In this respect an interesting passage is [Longin.] *De subl.* 9.15 τοιαῦτα γάρ που τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος ἠθικῶς αὐτῷ (sc. Homer) βιολογούμενα οἰκίαν οἶονεῖ κωμωδία τίς ἐστὶν ἠθολογουμένη; cf. Aristophanes of Byzantium, *ap. Syrian. in Hermog.* ii, p. 23 (= W. J. Slater, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (1986) vii, 2) ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε, πότερος ἄρ’ ὑμῶν πότερον ἀπεμιμήσατο; D. A. Russell, *Longinus: On the Sublime* (1964) 99. Besides, Dion. Hal. *Comp. Verb.* 3.13 calls the incidents of the arrival of Telemachus at Eumaeus’ hut (*Od.* 16.1–16) *πραγματί’ ἄττα βιωτικά, ἠρμηνευμένα ὑπέρευ*. For a similar definition of Comedy in comparison with Tragedy, see ‘Ex Scholiis in Dionysium Thracem’ (*Scholia in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. W. J. W. Koster, I.1A, p. 73, XVIII b 2.5–11) δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι πολλὴ διαφορὰ τῆς τραγωδίας καὶ τῆς κωμωδίας, ὅτι ἢ μὲν τραγωδία περὶ ἠρωϊκῶν πραγμάτων καὶ προσώπων λέγει, ἢ δὲ κωμωδία ἀπήλλακται τούτων· καὶ ὅτι ἢ μὲν τραγωδία τὰ τέλη περὶ σφαγῶν καὶ φόνων ἔχει, ἢ δὲ κωμωδία περὶ ἀναγνωρισμοῦ· καὶ ὅτι ἢ μὲν τραγωδία ἱστορίαν καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν ἔχει πράξεων γενομένων, ἢ δὲ κωμωδία διάπλασμα βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων· καὶ ὅτι πάλιν ἢ μὲν τραγωδία διαλύει τὸν βίον, ἢ δὲ κωμωδία συνίστησιν; *ibid.* p. 74, XVIII b 4.1–2 ἀναγιγνώσκομεν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἠρωϊκὰ “ἠρωϊκῶς” ἤγουν μεγαλοφώνως, τὰς δὲ κωμωδίας “βιωτικῶς” ἤγουν κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ βίου. Cf. *ibid.* p. 126, XXVI.a; Theophrastus *ap. Diomedes, De comoedia graeca* (Kaibel, *CGF* I.1, p. 57 = W. W. Fortenbaugh et al. (eds.), *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence*, Part ii (1992) 552, no. 708): κωμωδία ἐστὶν ἰδιωτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀκίνδυνος περιοχὴ.

The adjectives *χρηστή* and *βιολόγος* here used to describe Comedy, especially if considered in the context of the severe criticism of the way the violence of Tragedy fulfils the taste of the senseless crowd, seem to contain an element of ethical and didactic intention and attitude from the author. Clearly he has in mind the plays of the New Comedy, from which he quotes a typical formula in 29–30; moreover, the occurrence of the adjective *βιολόγος* may reveal the influence of the mime, extremely popular in Roman period. See also *Suda* φ 364 Φιλιστίων, Προυσαεύς, ἢ ὡς Φίλων Καρδιανός, κωμικός. τελευτᾶ δὲ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους. ὃς ἔγραψε κωμωδίας βιολογικάς, τελευτᾶ δὲ ὑπὸ γέλωτος ἀπίρου, δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ Μιμοψηφισταί, where the phrase κωμωδίας βιολογικάς clearly indicates mimes.

28–9 *συν[ω]δῶν*. I print this supplement *exempli gratia* since it is compatible with the space and the traces, which fit the right-hand diagonal of Δ and the join between this diagonal and the right-hand end of the horizontal base. For a similar shape of Δ, compare 10 οὐδέν. Alternatively, *συν[η]θῶν*, in the sense of ‘customary’, may be possible. It seems to be slightly less good for the traces

because θ usually looks quite well rounded. However, we may observe that the central stroke of θ is usually drawn in a single movement with the ligature with the following letter, so that, when this ligature lies in the lower part of the writing-space, the central stroke crosses the circle (which forms the body of the letter) at a rather lower point, as at 2 ὄθεν, 6 τιθείς, col. ii 10 θεία, 11 θείεις. Thus the traces at the beginning of 29 may be interpreted as follows: the slightly diagonal stroke may represent part of the right-hand arc of the body of θ , while the join at line-level may represent the point where the central stroke crosses that circle, even though it seems to be slightly too low. For the *iunctura* with *συνωδός* I have found no parallels, but *συνήθης* is used in reference to song in Iulius Africanus, *Cesti* 1.11.15 (*συνήθων μελῶν*).

29–31 Cf. the following passages from Menander: *Dysk.* 963–964 ἰώ, ἐκδότω / στεφάνους τις ἡμῖν, δᾶδα; *Mis.* 459–460 παιδάριον, ᾄψας δᾶ[δα] / στεφάνους τ' ἐ[χ]ο[ν]τ[ε]ς[ε]; *Sam.* 731–732 δεῦρο δ' ἡμῖν ἐκδότω τις δᾶδα καὶ στεφάνους, ἵνα / συμπροπέμπωμεν. The same motif can be reconstructed in more fragmentary texts: *Men. Sik.* 418–20, fr. 903 and 910 K.–A.; see A. M. Belardinelli (ed.), *Menandro Sicioni*, introd. (1994) 227–33. For comparable passages in earlier comedy see A. W. Gomme, F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (1973) at *Dysk.* 964. For the idea of *προπέμπειν* cf. Adesp. *925 K.–A., as emended by Bentley.

30 The adjective *ἐπινίκιος* is never applied to the noun *δᾶς*, but is frequently used in reference to song (for example in: *Pi. N.* 4.78, *Plu. Sertorius* 22.4, *D. S.* 5.29.4, *Philo, De ebrietate*, 111.27, 115.23–4 *Wendland, De vita Mosis*, 1.284.2 *Cohn*), while the neutral form *ἐπινίκιον* can be used substantively in the sense of song of victory (see *LSJ* s.v. II). Therefore **5093** seems to introduce a new *iunctura*. Here the papyrus breaks off, but it seems that this is nearly the end of the speech: the author would conclude his own performance in praise of Comedy by alluding to the typical conclusion of a performance of Comedy itself.

↓

γα . . . ας

ορφ . [.] φασινοιτ . παλαιαμυθολογοντ
 επ . [.] . υδικηι . ηιγυ . [.] . ρπαθηγενομοειχε
 σθαιεισαιδουεπια . αγωγηιπαραιτησομε
 νοντουσαπαραιτη . . εουκ'διατοεπιστρα
 5 φη . [.] αποτυχεινδ . σαινισσομενου . [.] .
 μυ[.] ουο⁺αλ . ινονκ'σοφοισθυμηρη[
 αποβοληκ'απρακτ . ντομηχανασθ . [.]
 επειρας[[κ']]κατ'ανδροσοφοσεπιμελι . [.]
 τηιγυκ'πτο^λεπιαρσινοηισοφισμα . [.]
 10 παρηγοριασινπαρηγορηματαδιαμα . [.]
 γανευτωνπολλαλ[.] ρησαντεςδιεν . [.]
 δοφιλα^δελωφητομο . . ειονσυνστη . α[.]
 υπερτουσυνειν'τοις . οφ . κ'τωιτεμεν[.]
 τηνα . . λκοςμησας [.] υτατυχεστ . [.]
 15 ουτεπλουσιωτ . . αντεφραν . . [.] π . . [.]
 τιτω . μεμο[. c.5] . νηφυς . σαν . [.]

βαλλε[.]... μ.[c.10]... ο. σησευπαιδ[
 εωσ[...]. .[.]εν[c.9]α. λαταμ'α.[
 θρου[c.4]. ημ.[c.12]ρυχωμεν.[
 20 ασα[c.26]σαντορ...[
[c.18]...[.]...[
 τονχ[
 καθε.[
 ουδεις[
 25 πρωμ[
 ης.[
 τρο.[
 δ.ι...[
 ζειδημ[
 30 κουφα[
 μηδυ.[
 ριανφυ[
 τες.[
].[

Heading: α, lower half of diagonal stroke in vertical alignment with tiny vertical trace in upper part of writing space . α, remains of diagonal stroke slightly ascending from left to right, whose tip is linked with stroke approaching diagonal descending from left to right and ending up at mid-height in ligature with following letter

1 φ, left-hand arc], trace at line-level, 2 mm further faded traces in lower part of writing space, in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right touching at mid-height curve approaching left-hand arc τ, short vertical trace in lower part of writing space; 1 mm further, trace at mid-height touching left-hand upright of following π 2 π, vertical trace in lower part of writing space, possibly upright], curve approaching left-hand arc with thicker upper part υ, small right-hand arc in upper part of writing space; below, in vertical alignment, tiny trace at line-level η, remains of crossbar in upper part of writing space and in ligature with following letter], vertical trace in upper part of writing space], remains of top and bottom of round letter? 3 α, remains of foot of upright? 4 η, trace suggesting raised letter of smaller size as part of abbreviation ε, top of round letter in upper part of writing space; below, slightly blurred vertical trace at mid-height 5 η, upper part of upright δ, tiny trace in upper part of writing space; slightly below, remains of stroke approaching diagonal ascending from left to right and touching top of following ο], first, remains of top of round letter in upper part of writing space; second, remains of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space 6 λ, crossbar touching following ι 7 τ, left-hand arc θ, remains of rather deep curve, in lower part of writing-space: loop?], dot below line-level, probably foot of upright 8 'α, thick trace at mid height attached to diagonal of previous α], remains of left-hand arc 9], very tiny and faded trace in upper part of writing space 10], curve departing from lower extremity of diagonal of preceding α and curving to right 11], thick trace in lower part

of writing space 12 ρ , short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part of writing space ϵ , trace at line-level, in vertical alignment with tip of curve approaching diagonal descending from left to right, in ligature with following η , traces in upper part of writing space in roughly horizontal alignment 13 c , stroke, 1 mm long, approaching horizontal, lying in upper part of writing space and touching following \circ ϕ , small left-hand arc lying in upper part of writing space, possibly belonging to raised letter as part of abbreviation 14 a , first, left-hand half of triangular letter, α or Δ ; second, vertical trace in upper part of writing space, almost in vertical alignment with left-hand extremity of horizontal, 1 mm long, lying at mid height ρ , upper part of left-hand arc whose upper extremity joins short vertical stroke 15 τ , short diagonal trace ascending from left to right protruding above writing space a , short vertical trace in upper part of writing space which may belong to upright or right-hand arc ν , first, trace in upper part of writing space; second, left-hand arc π , short thick stroke, 1 mm long, approaching horizontal, at line-level ρ , trace in lower part of writing space 16 ω , remains of two uprights, about 2 mm apart ρ , curve lying in upper part of writing space approaching right-hand arc ζ , trace at line-level ρ , small left-hand arc 17 ρ , first, fibres badly damaged: two traces in vertical alignment lying in upper and lower part of writing space respectively; 0.5 further, in upper part of writing space, stroke 1 mm long, approaching diagonal descending from left to right; second, trace in upper part of writing space in vertical alignment with stroke approaching diagonal, 1.5 mm long, lying at line-level: the complex may represent the extremities of upright or a dicolon (in fact there is some distance from previous letter) μ , trace in upper part of writing space, possibly tip of upright ρ , upright bearing stroke as sign of abbreviation in the form of acute accent \circ , diagonal, 4 mm long, descending from left to right, in upper part of writing space; below, very close to it, two tiny traces in vertical alignment in lower part of writing space 18 ρ , first, trace in upper part of writing space, followed, about 0.5 mm further, by extremely tiny trace lying in lower part of writing space; second, extremities of diagonal descending from left to right and touching following ϵ a , diagonal stroke, 1 mm long, ascending from left to right ρ , remains of lower part of upright? 19 ρ , horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long, in upper part of writing space μ , extremely tiny trace at line-level ρ , very short diagonal stroke, 1 mm long, ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space 20 a as correction from previous μ ? ρ , first, upright; 0.5 mm further, trace at mid-height approaching diagonal ascending from left to right; other trace approaching horizontal, lying at line-level, 2 mm distant from previously mentioned diagonal; second, vertical stroke, 1 mm long, lying in upper part of writing space and joining at mid-height stroke 1 mm long approaching horizontal; to left, 1 mm distant, tiny trace protruding above writing space 21 ρ , first, lower half of left-hand arc; second, upright joining another stroke (not preserved) to right; third, upright with rather thick tip; fourth, blurred traces in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space; in vertical alignment with last trace to right, two tiny traces in vertical alignment lying in lower part of writing space; fifth, horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long, in upper part of writing space, whose left-hand extremity is in vertical alignment with very tiny trace at mid-height; its right-hand extremity touches tip of following letter; sixth, upright whose lower extremity presents tiny rightwards curve ρ , first, extremely tiny trace protruding above writing space; second, tip of upright protruding above writing space ρ , very thin horizontal trace, 1 mm long, in upper part of writing space 23 ρ , scanty remains of lower part of left-hand arc 26 ρ , two traces in vertical alignment, respectively at line-level and in upper part of writing space 27 ρ , vertical trace at mid-height 28 δ , stroke, 1 mm long, approaching horizontal, lying at mid-height and touching tip of following letter ι , diagonal ascending from left to right and protruding above writing space; close to it, at mid-height, two traces in horizontal alignment ρ , two tiny traces in vertical alignment in lower part of writing space 31 ρ , horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long, in lower part of writing space 33 ρ , diagonal descending from left to right in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity joins at mid-height vertical stroke lying in upper part of writing space

34 .[, very short diagonal trace ascending from left to right, possibly belonging to stroke protruding above writing space

γα . . ας

Ὀρφέ[α] μ(έν) φασιν οἱ τὰ παλαιὰ μυθολογοῦντ(ες)
 ἐπὶ Ε[ύ]ρῆδίκῃ τῇ γυναικί) ὑ[π]ερπαθῇ γενόμε(νον) οἴχε-
 σθαι εἰς Αἴδου ἐπὶ ἀναγωγῇ παραιτησόμε-
 νον τοὺς ἀπαραιτήτ(ους) θεοὺς κ(αὶ) διὰ τὸ ἐπιστρα-
 5 φῆν[αι] ἀποτυχεῖν, δύο αἰνισσομένου [τ]οῦ
 μύ[θ]ου, ὅτ(ι) ἀλγ(ε)ινὸν κ(αὶ) σοφοῖς θυμήρη[ς]
 ἀποβολὴ κ(αὶ) ἄπρακτον τὸ μηχανᾶσθαι.
 ἐπειράσ(αντο) καὶ Π(ερί)ανδρος ὁ σοφὸς ἐπὶ Μελίς[ς]ηι
 τῇ γυναικί) κ(αὶ) Πτολ(εμαῖος) ἐπὶ Ἄρσινόηι σοφίσματ[α]
 10 παρηγορίας οὐ παρηγορήματα διὰ μαγ-
 γανευτῶν πολλὰ λ[η]ρήσαντες. διενε[γκ(ών)]
 δ' ὁ Φιλάδ(ελφος) ἐλώφη(σε) τὸ Μουσεῖον συνστήσα[ς]
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεῖν(αι) τοῖς σοφοῖς) κ(αὶ) τῷι τεμέν[ει]
 τὴν ἀδελ(φὴν) κοσμήσας. [ο]ὔτ' ἀτυχεστέ[ραν]
 15 οὔτε πλουσιωτέραν τέφραν . . [.]π . . [
 τι τῶν μεμο[c.5]ων ἢ φύσις αν . [
 βαλλε[.] . . μ . [c.10] π(ερί)ούσης εὐπαιδ[
 εως[. . .] . . [.]εν[c.9] ἀλλὰ τὰ μ(έν) α . [
 θρου[c.4] . ημ . [c.12] ρυχωμεν . [
 20 ασα[c.26] σαυτορ . . [
 [c.18] . . [.] . [
 τον χ[
 καθε . [
 ουδεις [
 25 πρωμ[
 της . [
 τρο . [
 δειλ . [
 ζει δημ[
 30 κουφα[
 μηδυ . [
 ριαν φυ[
 τες . [
] . [

‘The tellers of old stories say that Orpheus, on the one hand, full of suffering for his wife Eurydice, went to Hades in order to beseech the unbesechable gods for her return (to life) and, because he turned round, failed, the myth hinting two things: that even for wise men the loss of what is beloved is painful and (that) it is impossible to remedy. Both Periander the wise for his wife Melissa, and Ptolemy for Arsinoe, tried to apply sophisms of consolation instead of (real) consolations, resorting to sorcerers and doing many foolish things. However, Philadelphus, suffering with patience (or being superior or taking a different position), recovered (from his wife’s loss) by establishing the Museum in order to be with the wise and honouring his sister with the *temenos* . . .’

Heading: γα . . . ας. This sequence raises several questions and requires a careful treatment, although it is not possible to offer a definitive solution. Its position in the middle of the line leads us to think that it is a title or a heading. One can compare the heading in → ii 9 τάξεως ἐγκώμιον(ν). This, however, at the same time supplies the subject of the following clause; this double function is clearly due to the particular nature of this piece, which consists of a series of concise notes rather than of a syntactically elaborated development of the exercise. The damaged sequence described above in the paleographical apparatus can be restored in two different ways:

(1) Γάλλας, to be considered a geminated form (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 155–6) of the male personal name Γάλας. This offers three possible interpretations. (a) It is the rare form of Γαλάτης (gen. -ου), son of Polyphemos and Galateia, the ancestor and eponymous hero of the Galatians (see Timae. FGGrHist 566 F 69 M; App. *Ill.* 2). The connection which can be established between Γάλας and the text is rather speculative. It concerns the figure of Ptolemy Philadelphus: he destroyed a group of mutinying Gaulish mercenaries (c.274–272 BC), an event celebrated by Callimachus (*Del.* 185–7) and linked by him with the earlier defeat of the Gaulish invasion of Greece (*Del.* 175 ff.; *Galateia*, fr. 378–9; on this topic see S. Barbantani, Φάτις νικηφόρος: *Frammenti di elegia encomiastica nell’età delle Guerre Galatiche*, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 958, 969 (2001), esp. pp. xi–xii, 160–65, 177–9, 181–223). (b) It is the name of the rhetor who composed the text. (c) If we provisionally assume that this text is an ἠθοποιία (see below), Γάλας may be the name of the speaking character. However, this is only a speculative suggestion, since the extant text does not offer any really significant element to support it. Alternatively he could be the protagonist of the piece, a man who has lost his wife and to whom the author is offering *exempla* to take as models to overcome sorrow.

(2) Γάλβας, as Parsons suggests, could be read assuming a rather cursive β in ligature with the following α. The personal life of the Emperor offers an element that seems to fit the topic of the piece: according to Suetonius, *Galb.* 5, the emperor was so attached to his dead wife Lepida that he refused to marry again. Taking into consideration that Galba died in 69 and that 5093 may be ascribed to the second half of the first century, there is what might be called a ‘chronological’ probability that the Emperor’s marriage story represented a good piece of contemporary history for the author of our piece.

1–14 The author deals with a crucial aspect of human life: the reaction to the death of a loved one (6–7 θυμύρη[ς] | ἀποβολή), specifically a wife. He illustrates and supports his argument by means of three *exempla* concerning three famous figures: the mythical figure Orpheus, the historical-mythical figure Periander, and the historical figure Ptolemy Philadelphus. All three had to cope with the dramatic experience of the loss of their wives, and all three tried in the first instance to deal with it through μηχανᾶσθαι (7), i.e. through resort to devices and illicit means, a wrong choice that determined their failure. This is explicitly and fully illustrated in the case of Orpheus, the first *exemplum*, with a clear indication of the allegorical/philosophical meaning of the myth (5–6 δὲ αἰνισσομένου [τ]οῦ | μύ[θ]ου). Through the generalization in 6–7, the meaning of Orpheus’ myth is applied to and further illustrated by the *exempla* of Periander and Ptolemy, which are introduced as two other cases of μηχανᾶσθαι. This μηχανᾶσθαι consists of σοφίσματα[ς] | παρηγορίας (9–10) which are performed διὰ

μαγ|γανευτῶν (10–11), a suggestion of magical practices. These practices are considered foolish (10–11 πολλά λ[η]ρήσαντες). However, Philadelphus eventually finds the right way to attain real consolation (11–14), a rational way, which consists of pursuing wisdom. Its concrete implementation is represented by the building/foundation of the Museum and the institution of a community of wise men. This piece recalls motifs characteristic of the genre of the *consolatio* (see below 12–14 n.).

1–5 Concise account of Orpheus' myth as it is appropriate for an *exemplum*. It consists of the two basic elements of this myth: the κατάβασις to Hades allowed to Orpheus by the gods in order to recover Eurydice from death, and the failure of his attempt because of his premature turning back to look at his beloved wife. There is no explicit mention of the divine prohibition on looking back, nor mention of the power of Orpheus' song to enchant Hades, two elements contained in other sources (see e.g. Apollod. 1.3.2; Conon, FGrHist 26 F 1 (XLV), Verg. *G.* 453–525, and Ov. *Met.* 10.1–11.84). However, several key words are comparable with the account given by other authors, in particular by Apollod. 1.3.2: . . . καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ ἀσκήσας κιθαρῳδίαν, ὃς ἄδων ἐκίνει λίθους τε καὶ δένδρα. ἀποθανούσης δὲ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, δηχθείσης ὑπὸ ὄφεως, κατήλθεν εἰς Ἄιδου θέλων ἀνάγειν (ἀνάγειν Hesye: ἀγαγεῖν A) αὐτὴν καὶ Πλούτωνα ἔπεισεν ἀναπέμψαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τοῦτο ποιήσειν, ἂν μὴ πορευόμενος Ὀρφεὺς ἐπιστραφή πρὶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἀπιστῶν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐθεάσατο τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ δὲ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν. Cf. D. S. 4.25.4 συνεστρατεύσατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καταβῆναι μὲν εἰς Ἄιδου παραδόξως ἐτόλμησε, τὴν δὲ Φερσεφόνην διὰ τῆς εὐμελείας ψυχαγωγῆσας ἔπεισε συνεργῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ συγχωρῆσαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τετελευτηκυῖαν ἀναγαγεῖν ἐξ Ἄιδου παραπλησίως τῷ Διονύῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον μυθολογοῦσιν ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν μητέρα Σεμέλην ἐξ Ἄιδου, καὶ μεταδόντα τῆς ἀθανασίας Θυῶνην μετονομάσαι.

6 σοφοῖς. This qualification, considered in the context of the philosophical interpretation of the myth of Orpheus (5–7) and compared to 8 Π(ερὶ)ανδρὸς ὁ σοφός, shows that the author is implicitly referring to the Seven Wise Men, among whom both Orpheus and Periander were numbered. For Periander, see D. L. 1.13.1, 1.30.4, 1.42.4, 1.42.4; 1.98.13; *AP* VII 81.2, VII 619.1–2 (πλούτου καὶ σοφίας πρύτανιν), VII 620.3, IX 366.4 (where the Delphic ὑποθήκη 'Χόλου κρατέειν' is ascribed to him; cf. Sch. in Luc. 1.7; *Suda* π 1067 mentions him as author of ὑποθήκαι). However, in the later tradition there are some attempts to exclude him from the group because of his reputation as a brutal tyrant, and replace him with Myson or Anacharsis or Epimenides (see e.g. Pl. *Prot.* 343a, Plu. *Solon* 12.7.4, Plu. *De E. apud Delphos*, 385e, Id., *Septem sapientium convivium* 147c 9, Paus. 10.24.1).

6–7 θυμήρη[ς] | ἀποβολή. In this context this expression clearly means 'the loss of what is beloved'. If so, we expect θυμήρη[ς] in the genitive. The nominative—which is certain from the palaeographical point of view—may be explained in two ways: (1) mechanical error; (2) *hypallage*. θυμήρης is an adjective of a poetic, epic flavour, used in *Il.* 9.336, *Od.* 23.232, Hes. fr. 43a.20 with the noun ἄλοχον; cf. Q. S., *Posthomerica*, 5.376 θυμήρεα τέκνα and 7.702 ἐὼν θυμήρεα παῖδα (both occurrences are at the end of the hexameter). However, there are occurrences in prose to qualify relatives and close people: Philo *De Abrahamo* 245.11 Cohn (wife), Herodian. *Hist. Regnum post Marcum* 8.5.9 Lucarini (φίλους), Jul. *Epistulae dubiae* 201.4 Bidez (wife).

7 μηχανᾶσθαι. The verb is clearly used here with a negative connotation, confirmed by the expression in 9–10 σοφίματ[α] | παρηγορία. For this use cf. Pl. *Symp.* 179d, containing a negative judgement on Orpheus, who, instead of offering his own life for his wife, attempted to bring her back to life by trickery: Ὀρφέα δὲ τὸν Οἰάγρου ἀτελῆ ἀπέπεμψαν ἐξ Ἄιδου, φάσμα δείξαντες τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφ' ἣν ἦκεν, αὐτὴν δὲ οὐ δόντες, ὅτι μαλθακίζεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἅτε ὦν κιθαρῳδός, καὶ οὐ τολμᾶν ἕνεκα τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀποθνήσκειν ὥσπερ Ἀλκηστis, ἀλλὰ διαμηχανᾶσθαι ζῶν ἐσιέναι εἰς Ἄιδου. For the use of the verb in relation to magic, see Plu. *De tuenda sanitate praecepta*, 126a οὐκ οἶδα δ' ὄντινα τρόπον, ἡμῶν τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι φίλτρα μηχανῶνται καὶ γοητείας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας βδελυττομένων καὶ δυσχερανώτων, μισθωτοῖς τε καὶ δούλοις προϊέμεθα τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὄψα μονοῦ μαγγανεύειν καὶ φαρμάττειν.

The trickery is to be linked with the traditional figure of Orpheus as master of music and song. In this respect, he is often connected to the sphere of magic; see Apollod. 1.3.2 (quoted above, 1–5 n.) . . . ὅς ἄδων ἐκίνει λίθους τε καὶ δένδρα; Verg. *Culex* 278–88, *G.* iv 464–86 (where Orpheus obtains the return of his wife because of the magic power of his τέχνη μουσική, which placates the infernal gods); Sch. in *E. Alc.* 357, where he is defined γοητεύς (Ὀρφέως γυνὴ Εὐρυδίκη, ἧς ἀποθανούσης ὑπὸ ὄφειος κατελθὼν καὶ τῇ μουσικῇ θέλξας τὸν Πλούτωνα καὶ τὴν Κόρην αὐτὴν ἀνήγαγεν ἐξ Ἰδίου); Paus. 6.20.18 ἡξίου δὲ οὗτος <ὁ> Αἰγύπτιος εἶναι μὲν Ἀμφίονα, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Θρᾶκα Ὀρφέα μαγεύσαι δευρόν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπάδουσι θηρία τε ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῷ Ὀρφεί καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐς τὰς τοῦ τείχους οἰκοδομίας τὰς πέτρας; cf. Philostr. *VA* 8.7.14, where Orpheus' case is mentioned in relation to the passionate desire to bring a dead person back to life: . . . καίτοι πολλὰς ἂν ἠϋξάμην ἵγυγας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νῆ Δί', εἴ τινες Ὀρφέως εἰς ἵπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελωδίαί, μηδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοῆσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτόν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα κτλ. On Orpheus' katabasis and dimension as 'paradigmatic necromancer', see also D. Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy* (2001) 124–7.

8 καὶ was first written in the usual abbreviated form κ', which was then deleted and replaced by the form written in full with the final ι at a slightly smaller size above the line. This may be explained as follows. The scribe, after writing κ', realized that the following word began with the abbreviation π'; the succession of two abbreviations might cause confusion (at first sight at least) and therefore he preferred to delete the usual abbreviation of καί and write the conjunction in full.

8–14 The general statement in 6–7 is further supported by the parallel *exempla* of Periander and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which are concisely presented together. Both attempted σοφίσματα παρηγορίας (9–10) as reaction to the death of their wives. As to what they actually did, the author gives only a hint in the phrase διὰ μαγίαν (10–11), 'through sorcerers'. This element, together with the *exemplum* of Orpheus, suggests that Periander and Ptolemy tried to bring back their wives by magical means. Some of this information is new. So far as I know, the extant sources about Ptolemy do not mention such a reaction to Arsinoe's death. For Periander, we have two partly relevant accounts. Herodotus 5.92 reports that Periander consulted the νεκρομαντήριον on the Acheron in Thesprotia about a treasure buried by his dead wife Melissa (he had killed her, 5.50); Melissa appeared but refused to answer, saying that she was cold and naked, since the clothes buried with her had not been burnt; as a sign that it was really her, she alluded to the fact that Periander had had intercourse with her corpse. Periander then stripped the women of Corinth of their clothes, and burnt them with prayers to Melissa; when he sent a second time, her εἶδωλον revealed the location of the treasure. Diogenes Laertius 1.94 adds the detail that he killed her in a rage, with a footstool, or by kicking her, when she was pregnant, persuaded by the slanders of his mistresses, whom he afterwards burnt. On Periander and Melissa, see Ogden, *Necromancy* 54–7. There are two possible connections between this story and the hints of 5093. (1) Periander had intercourse with his wife after her death. (2) He also summoned back her εἶδωλον from the dead. In this case, as in Orpheus' story, some form of μηχανᾶσθαι was used to get in touch with the dead in the underworld; in the cases of Periander and Ptolemy, this was 'nonsense' (ληρήσαντες), presumably because the magicians were charlatans (see below), and the only true consolation was that of philosophy, namely, in a broader sense, wisdom.

Therefore I assume that the author thinks of both Periander and Ptolemy as seeking to communicate with their dead wives by means of νεκρομαντεία. In the *Suda* μαγγανεία is explained as γοητεία; under γοητεία a distinction is drawn between different kinds of magic: γοητεία καὶ μαγεία καὶ φαρμακεία διαφέρουσιν . . . μαγεία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπικλήσεως δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν δῆθεν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος κύστασιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως θεσπίσματα. γοητεία δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνάγειν νεκρὸν δι' ἐπικλήσεως, ὅθεν εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ τῶν θρήνων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους γινομένων κτλ. Cf. Philostr. *VA* 5.12 . . . οἱ γόητες, ἡγοῦμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ κακοδαίμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασιάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸ ἐπάσαι τι ἢ ἀλεῖψαι μεταποιεῖν

φαισι τὰ εἰμαρμένα, καὶ πολλοὶ τούτων κατηγορίας ὑπαχθέντες τὰ τοιαῦθ' ὡμολόγησαν σοφοὶ εἶναι. Ὁ δ' [Ἀπολλώνιος] εἶπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, προὔλεγε δέ, ὡς ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι αὐτὰ, προεγίνωσκε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον; 8.7.3 . . . ἔστι δέ τι . . . ψευδόσοφοί τε καὶ ἀγείροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολάβης, πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἣν ἀληθεύηι, εἰ δ' ἔστι τέχνη οὐπω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γοήτας ψευδοσόφους φημί κτλ. See also Jo. Chrys. in *Matth.* PG 57, 403.43–6 (see below, 14 n.). In particular, Luc. *Dem.* 25 (see below, 14 n.) contrasts the philosopher as consoler with the μάγος who claims to bring back the εἶδωλον of a deceased.

As regards Ptolemy, the author may develop this idea from the deification and τέμενος of Arsinoe. It is worth noticing that the motif honouring the deceased wife or mistress with a monumental building also occurs in Melissa's story (Paus. 2.28.4) and in the legendary tale of Harpalus and his mistress Pythionice, whose ghost—like Melissa's ghost—was invoked (Theopompus, FGrHist 115 F 253; Diodor. 17.108.5; Paus. 1.37.5; Plu. *Phocion* 22.1–4; Athen. XIII 594d–595c). The latter tale even inspired the fourth-century tragedian Python, who wrote the satyr play *Agen* (TrGF I, no. 91, F 1), where Babylonian μάγοι (who form the chorus) seem to offer to Harpalus to call back Pythionice's ghost at a lakeside. Harpalus' case shows a further element in common with Philadelphus: according to Theopompus (see above) Pythionice was worshipped as Pythionice Aphrodite, a fact that recalls Arsinoe's apotheosis and cult (see below, 13 n.). On the two stories, see Ogden, *Necromancy* 9–11, 27, 51, 130, 132. The author of 5093 may also be influenced by the reputation of Egypt for magicians. Heliodorus *Aeth.* 6.14.1–7 describes a νεκρομαντεία performed on a corpse according to the Αἰγυπτίων σοφία, where the mother of a dead man, aiming to obtain information about the future, offers a libation with a human figure made of flour and her own blood, and pronounces ritual formulas: see in particular the description of the temporary resurrection of the son in 6.14.4 πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ παιδὸς προσκύψασα καὶ τινα πρὸς τὸ οὐδ' ἐπάδοουσα ἐξήγειρέ τε καὶ ὀρθὸν ἐστάναι τῇ μαγγανείᾳ κατηνάγαξεν, and the condemnation of these practices in 6.14.7 . . . εἶναι γὰρ οὐ προφητικὸν οὔτε ἐπιχειρεῖν οὔτε παρεῖναι ταῖς τοιαύταις πράξεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μαντικὸν τούτοις μὲν ἐκ θυσίων ἐννόμων καὶ εὐχῶν καθαρῶν παραγίνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βεβήλοις καὶ περὶ γῆν τῷ ὄντι καὶ σώματα νεκρῶν εἰλουμένοις οὕτως ὡς τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ὄραν ἢ τοῦ καιροῦ περίπτωσις ἐνδέδωκε and 3.16.3 Ἡ μὲν γὰρ [ἡ Αἰγυπτίων σοφία] τις ἐστὶ δημώδης καὶ ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι χαμαὶ ἐρχομένη, εἰδώλων θεραπείαι καὶ περὶ σώματα νεκρῶν εἰλουμένη, βοτάναις προστετηκυῖα καὶ ἐπωδαῖς ἐπανέχουσα, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν τέλος οὔτε αὐτῇ προοῦσα οὔτε τοὺς χρωμένους φέρουσα, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτὴν τὰ πολλὰς πταίοντα λυπρὰ δὲ τινα καὶ γλίχτρα ἔστιν ὅτε καθορθοῦσα, φαντασίας τῶν μὴ ὄντων ὡς ὄντων καὶ ἀποτυχίας τῶν ἐλπιζομένων, πράξεων ἀθεμίτων εὐρέτις καὶ ἡδονῶν ἀκολάστων ὑπηρέτις.

The mismatch between the 'new information' provided by 5093 and the material contained in other sources leads us to consider carefully the reliability of this information. As 12–14 illustrate, the author manipulates and freely exploits historical figures and events to support his own argument (cf. introd. and → iv 1–14 n.).

9–11 Cf. Theodor. *Interpretatio in xii prophetas minores*, PG 81, 1585.7–10 Πειρατῆ δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῆς ἀπέικασεν, ἐπειδὴ γοητικαῖς μαγγανείαις καὶ σοφίσμασι τιμὴν μεμηχανημένοις, τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων ἐποιούντο κινήσεις.

10–11 μαγγανευτῶν. The noun μαγγανευτής is attested only three times (Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 3.6.1; Phot. *Lexicon* s.v. 8 Theodoridis = *Suda* s.v. 3; plus two occurrences in Byzantine times, in Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*), while the feminine form μαγγανεύτρια is used as a gloss of βαμβρακεύτρια and synonym of φαρμάκις; see Hcsych. s.v. βαμβρακεύτριαι, and [Jo. Chrys.] *De Cananea* PG 52, 453.1. But words with the same root often occur in association with φάρμακα and ἐπωδαί (Pl. *Gorg.* 484a; Dem. in *Aristog.* 1.80; Luc. *Bis Acc.* 21.8; Max. *Tyr.* 23.3; Lib. *Or.* i 245, vol. i, p. 189 Foerster): thus the μαγγανευτής is a magician and a charlatan; cf. Dem. in *Aristog.* I 80 μαγγανεύει καὶ φενακίζει; Luc. *Alex.* 6 γοητεύοντες καὶ μαγγανεύοντες καὶ τοὺς παχεῖς . . . ἀποκείροντες; Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 3.6.1 εἰ δὲ δὴ μαγγανευτής τις ἦν καὶ φαρμακεύς, ἀπατεῶν τε καὶ γόης πῶς ἂν τοιαύτης διδασκαλίας. Moreover,

Phot. *Lexicon* s.v. 8 Theodoridis = *Suda* s.v. 3 gives the definition ὁ μὴνὸς παντοδαπὰ πρὸς φενακισμὸν. Such people may sacrifice children to avert fate (D. C. 73.16.5), change their shape (Luc. *Asin.* 11) or make spirits speak through other bodies (Jo. Chrys. *In Matth.* PG 57, 403.43–6 . . . πείσαι δαίμονα φθέγγεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα μαγγανεύειν τολμῶντες, ὅπου γε καὶ νῦν οἱ τὰς νεκρομαντείας τολμῶντες πολλὰ τούτων ἀτοπώτερα ἐπιχειροῦσι).

11 διενε[γκ(ών)]. The short space available leads me to assume an abbreviated form of the participle with raised κ at line-end. This participle may mean 'suffering with patience', or 'being superior', or possibly 'taking a different position'.

12–14 The Muscum was founded around 280 BC, i.e. around a decade before the actual death of Arsinoe II, by the predecessor of Philadelphus, Ptolemy Soter (see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) i 314–15; J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 300 BC – AD 700* (2007) 33, 37, 41, 50). Philadelphus, however, through his generous patronage remarkably developed this institution and the connected Library (see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 306, 321–5; McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria*, loc. cit.). The concise statement of **5093**, which presents the founding of the Museum as Ptolemy II's specific means of overcoming his sorrow for the death of his wife, represents a typical case of the exploitation and often distortion and manipulation of historical data to support a specific argument; see Russell, *Greek Declamation*, on the relationship between declamation and history (chap. 6, pp. 106–28).

Some lines of Herodas I 26–31 include φιλόσοφοι, the Μουσῆιον, and τέμενος (see below) among the glories of Egypt: κεί δ' ἐστὶν οἶκος τῆς θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ πάντα, / ὅς' ἐστὶ κου καὶ γίνετ', ἐστ' ἐν Αἰγύπτω· / πλοῦτος, παλαίστρη, δύναμις, εὐδία, δόξα, / θεαί, φιλόσοφοι, χρυσίον, νεηνίκοι, / θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς χρηστός, / Μουσῆιον, οἶνος, ἀγαθὰ πάντ' ὅς' ἂν χρήζημι. The noun φιλόσοφοι is used in documents of the Roman period to indicate the members of the Museum (cf. P. Pruneti, 'Il termine ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ nei papiri documentari', in M. S. Funghi (ed.), *Ἵδοι διζήσιοι = Le vie della ricerca: Studi in onore di Francesco Adorno* (1996) 389–401, esp. 390–91; D. Obbink, 'Readers and Intellectuals', in A. K. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (2007) 271–86, esp. 272, 280–81).

13 ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεῖν(αι) τοῖς σοφο(ῖς). This expression recalls the image of the historical community of scholars in the Museum. See Strabo 17.1.8: . . . τὸ Μουσεῖον ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν. ἐστὶ δὲ τῇ συνόδῳ ταύτῃ καὶ χρήματα κοινὰ καὶ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Μουσείῳ κτλ. For the designation of these scholars as φιλόλογοι in the broad sense of 'men of culture', see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 317–18, ii 471–2 n. 90, 917 n. 293. This noun also occurs in P. Mil. Vogl. I 18, col. vi 3, Diegesis in Call. *Iambus* I (fr. 191 Pfeiffer, vol. I, p. 163–4), as a later correction of a previous φιλόσοφοι; for the use of the latter see above, 12–14 n.

τῶι τεμέν[ει]. The dedication of the τέμενος is to be considered in the context of the institution of a cult of Arsinoe just after her death, which probably occurred in 270 BC (for recent bibliography on the debate on this question, see McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria* 386 n. 144). This cult is separated from the cult of the Theoi Adelphoi, which Ptolemy II had established for himself and his sister already by 272/1 (P. Hib. II 199.11–17 shows that in this year their names were added to that of Alexander in the titulature of the eponymous priesthood: see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 216, 228–9; S. Müller, *Das hellenistische Königspaar in der medialen Repräsentation: Ptolemaios II. und Arsinoe II.* (2009) 246–50, 260, 262–6, 280–300, 329–35). Herodas i 30 refers to a τέμενος of this cult (see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii 385–6 n. 367, 876–8 n. 30).

The τέμενος of Arsinoe is mentioned in P. Mil. Vogl. I 18, col. x 10–13 = fr. 228 Pfeiffer, vol. 1, p. 218: ἐκθέωσις Ἀρσινόης: Ἀγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' αἶδειν Ἐκ|θέωσις Ἀρσινόης· φησὶν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνηρπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων καὶ βωμὸν καὶ τέ|μενος αὐτῆς καθιδρῦσθαι πρὸς τῶι Ἐμπορίῳ. Cf. also *Sch. BT Il.* 13.703 βόε οἶνοπε] οἰνώδεις εἰς τὸ ὄραν. οἱ δὲ μέλανες, ὡς "οἶνοπα πόντον (*Il.* 1.350)". καὶ Πτολεμαῖος γὰρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρσινόης ἑχιλιάρτρον (χιλιάρουρον Wilam)

τέμενος μέλανα ἐνήκε βοῦς. If *χιλιάρουρον* is correct, this may be a different institution, since the area would be too large for a temple in the centre of Alexandria (see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 25, ii 72 n. 167, 72–3 n. 168), unless the size of 1,000 arourai derives from confusion with the Egyptian hieroglyphic term for ‘a thousand’, 10 square *khet* or 10 arourai, as McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria* 386 n. 151, points out. Pliny *NH* 34.148 mentions a temple of Arsinoe at Alexandria, left unfinished at Ptolemy II’s death; this should be the same as the Arsinoeum mentioned at 36.68 (Ptolemy set up a statue of Arsinoe in topaz). Presumably the τέμενος mentioned in 5093 should be identified with Callimachus’ τέμενος and Pliny’s Arsinoeum. On the *temenos* and Arsinoe’s cult, cf. McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria* 51–2; Müller, *Das hellenistische Königspaar* 281–3.

14 κοσμήσας. For the use of *κοσμέω* with the instrumental dative, cf. [Callisthenes] *Historia Alexandri Magni*, recensio a, 1.33.11 (vv. 14–17 of the oracular quotation) [sc. πόλις] *καιρῶν δὲ πλείετων καὶ χρόνων προβαιόντων / καὶ τὴ προβήσεται ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, κοσμουμένη / ναοῖσι πολλοῖς καὶ τεμένεσι ποικίλοις / κάλλει τε μεγέθει τῶν ὄχλων εὐπληθεία.*

The final decision of Ptolemy II and his relationship with the *σοφοί* may be compared with a sort of stereotype found in other sources: the figure of the *σοφός* (usually a philosopher) as admonisher and adviser of a figure of authority who expresses excessive and irrational mourning for the death of a loved one. This is illustrated by the following passages.

(1) Plu. *Cons. ad Ap.* 104c presents philosophy as means of recovering from the death of sons: *τούτοις δ’ ἐπόμενος καὶ ὁ Κράντωρ παραμυθούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν τεκνῶν τελευτῇ τὸν Ἰπποκλέα φησί· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα αὕτη ἢ ἀρχαία φιλοσοφία λέγει τε καὶ παρακελεύεται. ὦν εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο μὴ ἀποδεχόμεθα, τό γε πολλαχῆ εἶναι ἐργώδη καὶ δύσκολον τὸν βίον ἄγαν ἀληθές.*

(2) Philostr. *VS* II 556–8 reports the story of Herodes Atticus, exhorted by Lucius, *ἀνὴρ σοφός, ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς σπουδαῖος, Μουσωνίῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ προσφιλοσοφήσας*. Lucius criticizes the excessive manifestation of sorrow by Herodes for the death of his wife Regilla (. . . *ἐκπεσῶν ἄξια τοῦ πενθεῖσθαι πράττεις περὶ τῇ δόξῃ κωδυνεύων*; cf. 5093, 11 *πολλὰ λ[η]ρήσαντες*) and finally persuades him to give up his ridiculous behaviour, which consisted of keeping his house completely decorated in black in her honour. Analogous advice to maintain self-control is given to Herodes by the philosopher Sextus for the death of his daughter.

(3) Luc. *Dem.* 25 *Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς [Δημόναξ] υἱὸν πενθοῦντι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἑαυτὸν καθεύραντι προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν μάγος τε εἶναι καὶ δύνασθαι αὐτῷ ἀναγαγεῖν τοῦ παιδὸς τὸ εἶδωλον, εἰ μόνον αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσει μὴδένα πώποτε πεπειθηκότας· ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐνδοιάσαντος καὶ ἀποροῦντος — οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν τινα, οἶμαι, εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον — Εἶτ’ ἔφη, ὦ γελοῖε, μόνος ἀφόρητα πάσχειν νομίζεις μὴδένα ὀρῶν πένθους ἄμοιρον;*

(4) With regard to consolation specifically concerning Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II and their relation with *σοφοί*, note Plu. *Cons. ad Ap.* 111f–112a, where Arsinoe is persuaded to give up immoderate mourning for the death of her son thanks to a tale about the origin of the deity *Πένθος* narrated to her by one of the *ἀρχαίων φιλοσόφων*. This philosopher is to be identified with Straton, who wrote a letter to Arsinoe (D. L. 5.60), or with Xenocrates, who wrote a *λόγος Ἀρσινωτικὸς* in honour of Arsinoe after her death (D. L. 4.15).

14–34 The rest of the column is so badly preserved that it is not possible to give a satisfactory account of the content. However, two observations are to be made. (1) from the palaeographical point of view, this portion of text presents five *paragraphi*, whereas there are no *paragraphi* at all in lines 1–12, and the scribe rarely uses them elsewhere. This would lead us to ask whether such *paragraphi* mark sections of text rather than sentences. On the other hand, there seems to be a *paragraphus* below line 13, which is either mistaken or intended to mark the beginning of a substantial new phrase within a sentence. Further, two sections (lines 15–25 and 29–34) are in cktthesis, as is done for instance to show lemmata in commentaries. Both features may indicate subdivisions of the text, and the possibility that quotations were inserted, possibly verses (but note that in → iv 4–6 the two iambic lines are quoted

within the text, as a part of the discourse, without any layout device to distinguish them). Moreover, in 14–17 the blanks after *κοσμήσας* and after *βάλλε[.]* should mark pauses. (2) From the point of view of content, the legible sequences suggest supplements that may be related to the context of death and grief presented in the earlier part of the column. The problem is to distinguish the quotations, if they are present, and their metrical pattern, if they are from poetry, and to find a clear syntactic articulation. In any case, the nature of the text, if it consisted of separate notes or quotations, as in the *ἐγκώμιον τάξεως* of → ii, may explain the difficulty of finding a coherent syntactic structure.

14–18 The only sequence that could be reconstructed to any degree of certainty is 14–15 [ο] ὕτ' ἀτυχετέ[ραν] | οὔτε πλουσιωτέραν τέφραν. Note that the final *ν* in 14 is assumed to be written above the penultimate letter of the line as in → iv 15, 19, 27. The 'ashes' of the dead suit the context; 'richer ashes' sounds poetical, and one could think of a hitherto unattested poetic quotation that seems to give the key of the sense of the passage: '[whatever we experience in life (Nature?/Fate?) will not make us / leave us as] ashes that are not unhappier or richer [than anyone else's?]' ; but see below for different attempts at a more complete articulation. One could propose two possible metrical constructions: (1) Iambic trimeters, but with the omission—at least at first sight—of three syllables before *οὔτε*, i.e.: οὔτ' ἀτυχετέραν × ~ οὔτε πλουσιωτέραν τέφραν. Alternatively one may think that in fact the author did not omit anything, but abbreviated the first adjective as ἀτυχετέ(ραν) and wrote another word at line-end, a three-syllable word, necessarily with a very heavy abbreviation to reduce it to two or three letters. (2) Trochaic tetrameters. The pattern may be reconstructed by placing one extra syllable at the end of 14 within the lacuna, assuming that the adjective was abbreviated in the form *exempli gratia* ἀτυχετέ(ραν), as Parsons suggests: [ο] ὕτ' ἀτυχετέ[(ραν) γ(ὰρ)] | οὔτε πλουσιωτέραν τέφραν. However, one could object that the second element replaces the normal short syllable with a double-short, a phenomenon occasionally attested in Aristophanes and Menander (see M. C. Martinelli, *Gli strumenti del poeta: Elementi di metrica greca* (1997²) 128), so that methodological caution would prevent us from assuming it in a fragmentary context.

If we give up the attempt of reconstructing a clear-cut metrical pattern for the following part of the text and assume accidental unmetrical quotations by heart or a more or less intentional paraphrase of verses mixed together with segments of actual verses, further supplements that suit sense and context could be suggested for the second part of 15 and 16. In 15, if the syntax continues, we need a verb to govern the accusative. The writing after τέφραν is damaged, but I think that *exempli gratia* λῆ[ί]πει could be read. On the assumption that the sequence is a quotation, and possibly with omissions, we can explain the lack of a subject: it could have been mentally supplied by the audience/readers if the quotation were from a well-known poem. The *paragraphus* in 15 should indicate a syntactic break at line-end; at the beginning of 16 the sequence *τι τῶν μεμο[c.5]ων* should represent the beginning of a new sentence; it suggests a perfect participle middle-passive. Possible supplements include: *μεμο[ιραμέν]ων* (or *μεμο[ρημέν]ων*) 'things fated', *μεμο[χθημέν]ων* 'things toiled over', *μεμο[γνημέν]ων* 'things endured'. The initial *τι* might represent the interrogative or indefinite pronoun; less likely it might continue a word from the previous line (e.g. ἀν[τ]ι: in that case we should assume at line-end *α* with superscript *ν*), since the *paragraphus* in 15, if not misplaced, should indicate a break at line-end. Within the line, ἡ φύσις can be distinguished.

Then a possible supplement between 16 and 17 is ἀνα|βάλλε[τ]αι or ἀνε|βάλλε[τ]ο (the trace seems more suitable for ε, but might perhaps belong to the top of α; with the second form we have to explain the extra ink visible after -[τ]ο, perhaps as a dicolon). In general, the idea that death is fated and natural and cannot be postponed could suit the context. The syntax might be τί τῶν μεμο[ιραμέν]ων ἡ φύσις ἀνα|βάλλε[τ]αι; 'What part of things fated does Nature delay?' It is more difficult to relate this with lines 14–15, although we could supply an extra connection by writing *μεμο[ιραμέν]ων*] ᾧν assuming abbreviation in lacuna, instead of *μεμο[ιραμέν]ων*. In 17 the sequence *π(ερι)ούσης εὐπαιδ[* may be supplemented in two ways. (1) *π(ερι)ούσης εὐπαιδ[ίας.]*; cf. fr. 7. 4 ?εὐτ]εκνία. Taking

into consideration the space available at the end of the line, I am inclined to assume that the final ϵ of the word was raised above the line. In the context, a good family of children surviving—surviving would be particularly poignant in relation to the normal level of infant mortality in Antiquity—would represent a likely motif of consolation. More specifically Parsons thinks of ‘children surviving the death of the wife’ and notes that Galba also lost both his sons (Suet. *Galb.* 5). (2)] $\pi(\epsilon\rho\iota)\omicron\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\iota\delta[\epsilon\upsilon\sigma(\acute{\iota}\alpha\epsilon)]$: in this case, I assume an abbreviated form by suspension at the end of the line. $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ means ‘good education’, ‘culture’. This too would suit the context, given the emphasis on $\sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ as the true consolation for bereavement. $\pi(\epsilon\rho\iota)\omicron\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ might then mean ‘surviving’ (in relation to death), or alternatively ‘superior’. In either case, to provide a construction for the genitive, we could consider supplementing the beginning of the clause as e.g. $\mu\epsilon[\mu\upsilon\eta\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}(\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$] or $\mu\epsilon[\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon(\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$].

18–20 In 19 the sequence] $\rho\upsilon\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$. [suggests some form of $\tau\rho\upsilon\chi\acute{o}\omega/\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega$ = ‘wear out’, ‘exhaust’, or of one of its compounds: e.g. $\tau[\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\tau\epsilon\tau$] $\rho\upsilon\chi\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ -. Alternatively a form from $\beta\rho\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, in the sense of ‘lamenting’, would be possible. A possible pattern for 18–19 could be $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\nu)$ $\acute{\alpha}$. [.] $|\theta\rho\omicron\upsilon[\nu\tau\epsilon]\varsigma$ $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon[\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\kappa(\acute{\alpha}\iota)$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau$] $\rho\upsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$ [., assuming that the main verb of the sentence falls in *lacuna* at 20. For the first participle one could suggest $\acute{\alpha}\nu[a]$ $|\theta\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu[\tau\epsilon]\varsigma$, ‘looking up at’. The meaning of the passage could be ‘. . . looking up at something, being exhausted or overwhelmed from other things . . .’. In 20 one could think of an articulation such as $\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\alpha$ [., but also of a form of the adjective $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $-\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, or a corresponding adverb or a form of the noun $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\alpha$, to be related to the notion of the obscurity of destiny/future or death. Alternatively a form of the adjective $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $-\omicron\nu$, ‘unmoved’, ‘unshaken’, or a corresponding adverb, may be compatible with the same notion. So is the general meaning of 18–20 that, whatever we look at or we have experienced, destiny and future remain obscure and unpredictable to us?

20] $\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\rho$. [. The sequence could be articulated as] $\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ ρ . [or as] σ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\rho$. [.

24–5 Possibly a participle $\pi\epsilon$] $\pi\rho\omega\mu$ -, in the sense of ‘fated’, which would suit the context.

fr. 3 →

 [. . . . [
	] $\omega\tau\omicron\sigma\phi\alpha$ . [	] β . . . [
	] ω . . . $\eta\eta\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau$ [	] ω . . . $\eta\eta\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau(\tau-)$ [
	] . . . $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota\eta\delta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ . [	] $\alpha\nu(\)$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$ $\eta\delta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda(\omega-)$ μ [
5	] $\rho\omicron\nu\sigma\kappa\omega\phi\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . [	] $\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ $\sigma\kappa\omega\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\upsilon\pi$ [\acute{o}
	] $\sigma\omicron\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron$ . [	] $\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\nu$ [
	] ϵ^{λ} $\delta\epsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\gamma\rho\tau\omega$ . [	] $\epsilon^{\lambda}(\omega\tau\omicron\sigma)$ $\delta\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ $\gamma\rho(\alpha\phi-)$ $\tau\omega$. [
	] $\nu\epsilon\phi\eta\alpha\acute{\xi}\iota\omicron\nu$ $\rho\alpha\gamma\omega$ . [	] ν $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\xi}\iota\omicron\nu$ $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega(\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma)$. [
	] $\mu\eta$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\omega\mu$ [	] $\mu\eta$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\omega\mu$ [$\omega\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha-$
10] . . [] . . [

1] . . . [, first, lower half of oval descending below writing space, possibly β ; second, vertical trace in lower part of writing space, possibly part of upright; third, tiny trace at line-level; fourth, tiny trace at line-level
 2] . [, lower part of upright slightly slanting to right
 3] ω . . . , first, short stroke, slightly slanting to right and descending below line-level; second, lower part of upright descending below line-level; third, very tiny trace at line-level; fourth, two tiny traces roughly in vertical alignment lying at line-level and at mid-height respectively; 0.5 mm further short horizontal trace

in upper part of writing space touching following letter 4] . . , complex consisting of remains of triangular letter, α or λ, and superscript letter, consisting of upright joining to left at mid-height another stroke (not preserved) . [, diagonal ascending from left to right joining at mid-height another partially preserved stroke approaching horizontal 5] . , stroke approaching horizontal at mid-height; in upper part of writing space two traces very close to each other in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right and roughly in vertical alignment with tiny trace lying at line-level c , , upright whose upper part slightly slants to left and joins at mid-height another partially preserved stroke approaching diagonal ascending from left to right . [, tiny trace at line-level 6 τ , correction *currente calamo* from a previous θ? . [, upright with thick tip 7 . [, upright 8 . ρ , trace in upper part of writing space . [, remains of upright 9] . , very tiny trace at mid-height 10] . [, first, very tiny trace in upper part of writing space; second, trace of stroke protruding above writing space, possibly upper extremity of diagonal stroke descending from left to right

1–10 As said in introd., the content of the fragment is thematically very close to the subject treated in fr. 1+2 → iii–iv, but no physical join can be found. Lines 8 and 9 suggest a *syncretis* between Tragedy and Comedy, a topic compatible with the references to laughter in 4 (and perhaps in 7) and to the scopic element in 5. In 8 an authority seems to be mentioned (cf. fr. 4.18, 19). Taking into consideration the possibility that fr. 3 belonged to the same composition as fr. 1+2 → iii–iv, some observations may be made. Col. iv breaks up at a point seemingly coinciding with the very end of the speech (23–33), including a brief *syncretis* between Tragedy and Comedy: this makes it unlikely that fr. 3 was placed afterwards in the lost part of the column as a part of the same epideixis. Alternatively, one could place fr. 3 in the lost part of col. iii: however, the text of this column seems to focus on the sanguinary aspects of Tragedy, and its argumentation seems to carry on straightforwardly in col. iv, so that a section considering also Comedy coming in between, though not implausible, does not seem to be the most likely possibility. Therefore I am inclined to think that the fragment belonged to another part of the same roll. Similar observations may be made for fr. 4 also: moreover, this fragment presents two forked *paragraphi*, which may indicate different sections, but in any case it shows striking thematic similarities with fr. 3 (see below, fr. 4.1–20 n.). On this basis I do not rule out the possibility that the two fragments belonged to the same composition, although no physical join can be found. In any case the fragmentary state of the two fragments does not allow us to distinguish a clear development of a coherent argument to establish which of the two fragments could have come first in the hypothetical composition to which they both may have belonged. In other words, the sequence ‘fr. 3 followed by fr. 4’ is purely editorial.

In general on the *syncretis* between Tragedy and Comedy, see *Scholia in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. Koster, XIc: Anonymi Cramerii II, pp. 44–5, 46–9 ἴδιον δὲ κωμωδίας μὲν τὸ μεμιγμένον ἔχει τοῖς κωμῶμασι γέλωτα, τραγωδίας δὲ πένθη καὶ συμφοράς· σατυρικῆς δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀπὸ πένθους εἰς χαρὰν καταντᾶν, ὡς ὁ Εὐριπίδου Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἀλκίηστis καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἡλέκτρα, ἐκ μέρους, ὡς περ τινὲς φασι, ἀλλ’ ἀμιγῆ καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ θυμικὸν ἔχει γέλωτα, οἷον Ἡρακλῆς πρᾶθεις τῷ κυλεῖ ὡς γεωργὸς δοῦλος ἔσταλται εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν ἀμπελώνα ἐργάσασθαι, ἀνεσπακῶς δὲ δικέλλη προρρίζουσι τὰς ἀμπέλους κτλ.

A point of particular interest is the mention of what seems to be an authority on Tragedy and Comedy. The fragmentary state of the text leaves the question open to speculation, and at the same time requires extreme caution. The authority par excellence on Tragedy and Comedy, of whom one may think in the first place, is of course Aristotle, but other authors could also be considered: Theophrastus, author of a *Περὶ γελοίου* (D. L. 5.46 = fr. 130 Wehrli, Athen. VIII 348a = fr. 710 Fortenbaugh) and a *Περὶ κωμωδίας* (D. L. 5.47, Athen. VI 261d = fr. 709 Fortenbaugh = 124 Wimmer); Lycophron, author of a *Περὶ κωμωδίας* in at least nine books (Athen. VII 278a–b = fr. 19 Strecker, Athen. XI 485d = fr. 85 Strecker); Eratosthenes, author of a *Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας* in at least twelve books

(Athen. XI 501d = fr. 25 Strecker); Chamaeleon of Hieraclca Pontica, author of a *Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας* in at least six books (Athen. IX 374a = fr. 43 Wehrli = Anaxandrides test. 2 K.-A., Athen. 406e = fr. 44 Wehrli); Crates of Athens, author of a *Περὶ κωμωδίας* (D. L. 4.23 = FGrHist. 244 F 14). See also R. Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy: Towards a Reconstruction of Poetics ii* (1984) 44–7. Moreover, note that in fr. 14.3 Aristophanes of Byzantium is probably mentioned. Alternatively, we can consider the possibility of a reference to an obscure or completely unknown author. In this respect it is worth mentioning the *grammaticus* Soteridas (*Suda* s.v. 875), author not only of a *Περὶ κωμωδίας*, but also of a *ὑπόμνημα εἰς Μένανδρον*, and an *εἰς Εὐριπίδην*. In any case, various literary works on these topics were certainly in circulation. In the case of Oxyrhynchus, for example, XVIII 2192, the well-known second-century letter containing a list of books as *desiderata*, mentions a work by Hypsicrates entitled *Κωμωδούμενοι/Κωμωδούμενα* (col. ii 28–9), *Characters/Topics in Comedy* (see the re-edition by R. Hatzilambrou in Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* 282–6): the fact that other works with the same title are mentioned in ancient sources suggests that *Κωμωδούμενοι/Κωμωδούμενα* represented a sort of genre in its own right.

2–3 In 2 different supplements can be proposed: *cfάγ[ιον*, ‘sacrificial victim’/‘sacrifice’, or *cfαχ[ῆναι*, ‘to be slaughtered’, or *cfαχ[ιάζειν/cfαχ[ιάζεσθαι*, ‘to be sacrificed’. In any case it is not implausible to think of a reference to tragic plots. Alternatively a reference to the sacrifices performed at the altar of Dionysus on the occasion of performances is not to be ruled out; see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (1968²) 61. Moreover, one may think of a metaphorical meaning of the (assumed) slaughter/sacrifice: the victim may be the (personified) Tragedy as bad literary genre, as in fr. 1+2 → iv 23–7, where it is sent away to the wild men. A reading *cfαλ[-* is also possible: e.g. *cfάλ[μα* or *cfάλ[λειν/cfάλ[λεσθαι*.

The most straightforward way to articulate the sequence in 3 is *τὴν θάλατ(ταν)* (for the abbreviation cf. fr. 1+2 → ii 13). It is very difficult to relate this to the context, but one could take into consideration several possibilities. (1) It could be a reference to the fact that the Great Dionysia took place at the end of March, when the seas were navigable; see Theophr. *Char.* 3.3 *τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλοῖμον εἶναι* (on a typical topic of the *ἀδολέσχης*; cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals* 58 n. 5). (2) Another possible connection with dramatic performances and the sea seems to be suggested by Eust. *in Od.* 1472.4–6 on the names of theatres: *ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἴκρια προπαροξυτόνως ἐλέγοντο καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀφ’ ὧν ἐθεώοντο τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας πρὶν ἢ κευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον. ὅτι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα θέατρα θάλασσα κοίλη ἐλέγοντο, Πausanias δηλοῖ.* (3) The sea could be connected with the *sales* of Comedy. In this respect see e.g. Plu. *Mor.* 854c . . . *μόνοι αἱ Μενάνδρου κωμωδίαι ἀφθόνων ἀλῶν καὶ ἰλαρῶν μετέχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονότων τῆς θαλάττης, ἐξ ἧς Ἀφροδίτη γέγονεν.* (4) In connection with Comedy, especially from the standpoint of its dimension as a ‘democratic’ instrument of social criticism (see below, fr. 4.11–17 n.), the reading *cfαλ[* in 2 in the sense of ‘throwing’/‘being thrown’, and the sequence *τὴν θάλατ(ταν)* in 3 recall the episode of Eupolis, who was thrown in the sea for having criticized Alcibiades in his play *Βάπται*; see: Cic. *ad Att.* VI 1.18; *Scholia in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. Koster, I, p. 1.18–19 (Platonius, *Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν*), XIa I, p. 27.87–101 (Tzetzes), XIc, p. 44.29–43 (Anonymus Crameri II); cf. PCG V, pp. 332–3, test. iv and v; F. Perusino (ed.), *Platonio: La commedia greca* (Urbino 1989) 48–9; H.-G. Nesselrath, ‘Eupolis and the Periodization of Athenian Comedy’, in Harvey–Wilkins, *Rivals* 233–46, esp. 234–6. (5) If the textual segment in 4 refers to Dionysus, lines 2–3 may refer to a mythical episode concerning the god. Hom. *Il.* 6.130–37 reports that Lycurgus persecuted Dionysus and his nurses: the god, still a child, threw himself in the sea because of fear, and was welcomed by Thetis; cf. Heraclit. *All.* 35.5–8, Corn. *De natura deorum* 62.16–23, Athen. I 26b, Porph. *ad Il.* 6.129. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.1 places the episode of Dionysus’ jumping into the sea and seeking refuge with Thetis in the context of Lycurgus’ opposition to the god: Dionysus’ cortege of Bacchantes and Satyrs is temporarily imprisoned by Lycurgus and later freed by Dionysus. Heraclitus, Cornutus, and Athenaeus (quoted above)

explain the Homeric episode as an allegory of the custom of mixing wine (symbolized by Dionysus) with sea water (symbolized by the sea); cf. Plu. *Mor.* 914d, and Eust. *in Il.* 736.46–49, 871.33–46. Moreover, note that a Satyr drama on the myth of Lycurgus was composed by Aeschylus (of which only 4 partly fragmentary lines are preserved; see TrGF II, pp. 234–6, fr. 124–6) and another one by Timocles (TrFG 86, test. 2), while a comedy was composed by Anaxandrides (fr. 28 K.–A.). Besides, one may take into account the episode narrated in *h. Bacch.*: Dionysus transforms the Tyrrhenian pirates into dolphins when they try to escape him by jumping into the sea (vv. 51–3). (6) Finally, one must consider the possibility that 2–3 belong to an unknown quotation, which may or may not concern Dionysus.

An alternative reading—paleographically plausible—would be *θαιεατ(-)*: but this would represent an unattested sequence, which should be corrected perhaps as *θ{α}εατ(-)*, and supplied as a form of *θαεατής*, spectators, or as the verbal form *θαεατ(αι)* with indefinite subject (*τίς*) or with a subject meaning ‘the audience’, ‘the people’, ‘the crowd’.

4–5 The adjective *ἡδυγέλως* occurs six times in Greek literature (according to a TLG search): it is referred to Comedy (IG II² 11387, line 5 = CEG 2.550.3, funeral epigram for an actor, c.350), to a comic chorus at the Dionysia (IG II² 3101, line 1 = CEG 2.773.1, dedicatory epigram commemorating the victory of a unknown choregus, c.350 BC; see P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: The Chorus, the City and the Stage* (2000) 246–8), to Pan in *h. Pan* 37, as well as to a woman represented in a sympotic context and qualified as *Βάκχου καὶ Μουσέων ἰλαρὴ λάτρι καὶ Κυθερείης* in AP 5.135.3–4; cf. also Hesych. μ 602 (gloss on *μειλιχομειδής*). In 5093 it is tempting to supply the text as *ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἡδυγέλ(ωτι)* and refer the phrase to Dionysus (cf. fr. 4.14) taking into consideration Luc. *Pisc.* 25 *καί-τοι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καθ’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐτόλμων τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἐν Διονυσίῳ ἐφειμένον αὐτὸ ἔδρων, καὶ τὸ κῶμμα ἐδόκει μέρος τι τῆς ἑορτῆς, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔως ἔχαιρε φιλόγελῶς τις ὢν*. However, the text is very fragmentary, and the grammar is not so clear as to be sure that *ἡδυγελ(ω-)* is a dative.

5 Possible supplements: *σκωφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν/κωμωδιοποιῶν*. Object of the *σκώπτειν* could be e.g. politicians as in Old Comedy; cf. *Scholía in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. Koster, I. *Ἐκ τῶν Πλατωνίου Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν*, p. 4.25 ff. *σκοποῦ γὰρ ὄντος τῆ ἀρχαία κωμωδία EN²G [τῆ ἀρχικωμωδία Tr²] τοῦ κώπτειν δῆμους καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ στρατηγούς, κτλ. Ὁπ τοῦ σκοπτικὸν ἐν κωμῳ, sec Arist. EN 1128a οἱ μὲν οὖν τῷ γελοίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντες βωμολόχοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ φορτικοί, γλιχόμενοι πάντως τοῦ γελοίου, καὶ μᾶλλον στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ γέλωτα ποιῆσαι ἢ τοῦ λέγειν εὐσχήμονα καὶ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν κωμωπτόμενον· οἱ δὲ μήτ’ αὐτοὶ ἂν εἰπόντες μηδὲν γελοῖον τοῖς τε λέγουσι δυσχεραίνοντες ἄγροικοι καὶ κληροὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οἱ δ’ ἐμμελῶς παίζοντες εὐτράπελοι προσαγορεύονται, οἷον εὐτροποὶ· τοῦ γὰρ ἦθους αἱ τοιαῦτα δοκοῦσι κινήσεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ σώματα ἐκ τῶν κινήσεων κρίνεται, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἦθη. ἐπὶ πολάζοντος δὲ τοῦ γελοίου, καὶ τῶν πλείστων χαιρόντων τῆ παιδιᾷ καὶ τῷ κώπτειν μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, καὶ οἱ βωμολόχοι εὐτράπελοι προσαγορεύονται ὡς χαρίεντες· ὅτι δὲ διαφέρουσι, καὶ οὐ μικρόν, ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δῆλον. τῆ μέση δ’ ἔξει οἰκείον καὶ ἢ ἐπιδειξιότης ἐστίν· τοῦ δ’ ἐπιδειξίου ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν οἷα τῷ ἐπιεικεῖ καὶ ἐλευθερίῳ ἀρμόττει· ἔστι γὰρ τινα πρέποντα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ λέγειν ἐν παιδιᾷ μέρει καὶ ἀκούειν, καὶ ἢ τοῦ ἐλευθερίου παιδιὰ διαφέρει τῆς τοῦ ἀνδραποδώδους, καὶ πεπαιδευμένου καὶ ἀπαιδέτου. ἴδοι δ’ ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμωδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἢ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπόνοια· διαφέρει δ’ οὐ μικρόν ταῦτα πρὸς εὐσχημοσύνην. πότερον οὖν τὸν εὐ κώπτοντα ὀριστεῖον τῷ λέγειν μὴ ἀπρεπῆ ἐλευθερίῳ, ἢ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἢ καὶ τέρπειν; ἢ καὶ τό γε τοιοῦτον ἀόριστον; ἄλλο γὰρ ἄλλω μισητόν τε καὶ ἡδύ. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ἀκούσεται· ἂ γὰρ ὑπομένει ἀκούων, ταῦτα καὶ ποιεῖν δοκεῖ; Aspasius, *in Ethica Nichomachea commentaria*, p. 125.18–22 Ὁ δὲ ὑπερβάλλον βωμολόχος καλεῖται, ἐπιπόλαιός τις ὢν καὶ πάντως τοῦ γελοίου στοχαζόμενος ἢ περ τοῦ λέγειν εὐσχήμονα καὶ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν κωμωπτόμενον· ἔνεκεν δὲ τοῦ γέλωτα κινεῖν οὐδενὸς φείδεται, οὔτε φίλου οὔτε ἐχθροῦ· ἐνίοτε δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν, καθάπερ οἱ τὰς παλαιὰς κωμωδίας ποιήσαντες· ὑπὸ γὰρ βωμολοχίας οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν ἀπέχοντο. Cf. also [Plu.] *De proverbis Alexandrinorum*, fr. 30 = *Scholía**

	ω . εκ . [.] . ιδης . [	ώς Έκφ[α]ντίδης α[-
	κ'α . ιδουπουςκ'α . [	κ(αι) α . ιδουπους κ(αι) α . [
10	υξαι . . . ανκ'ε . [	εΰξαιτο δ' αν κ(αι) εκ[
	ευσταθειασαπε . [	ευσταθείας απε . [
	τωδεπρωτηκω . [	τω δε πρώτη κωμ[ωδία
	ταξεωσειληχεν[	τάξεως ειληχεν [
	διονυ ^c . σπαζομε[	Διονυ() άσπαζομε[-
15	γαυτηκ'δημω[	γ(αρ) αυτήν κ(αι) δημω[-
	θρεψεαποδειξ . [	θρεψε αποδειξ . [
	ειντ . . . τραγωτην'κ[	ειν(αι) τής τραγω(δίας) τήν κ[ωμωδίαν
	κ' . . . τος . νεπιλο . [	κ(αι) αυτος εν επιλόγ() [
	αουφη . [.] κωμ . [	α ού(τως) φη(ει) π[(ερι)] κωμω[δίας
20	...χυρι . [c.2] . κ[	ιςχυρι . [c.2] . κ(αι) [
].[.].[].[.].[

1] . [, first, tiny trace at line-level; second, two traces, very close to each other, at line-level
2 ν [, first, upright whose upper part slightly slants to left; second, small circle in lower part of writing space, either a small o or loop of α; third, lower part of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right; fourth, two traces very close to each other in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right, lying in lower part of writing space; fifth, extremely tiny trace at line-level [.] , extremely tiny trace at mid-height 3] . , remains of small circle in upper part of writing space 4 ο . , remains of two uprights belonging to square letter [.] , two extremely tiny traces in vertical alignment, 1 mm distant, lying at line-level and below line-level respectively 5 . ε , upright slightly slanting to right; 1 mm further short horizontal trace at mid-height ν . , upper part of upright whose tip joins to left crossbar touching following letter [.] , upright 6 β . , lower extremity of diagonal ascending from left to right; slightly further, in upper part of writing space, scanty and slightly blurred trace suggests diagonal stroke descending from left to right and touching following letter at mid-height ω , upright whose tip bears a very small circle, ι or ρ υ , left-hand arc [.] , tiny trace slightly descending below line-level 7 κ . , remains of triangular letter, α or λ α . , upright whose tip is attached to right to thick horizontal trace, ι or ρ [.] , remains of upright descending below line-level 8 ω . , two traces in vertical alignment lying at line-level and in upper part of writing space respectively κ . , lower extremity of upright descending below line-level [.] . tiny trace in upper part of writing space ι . , very tiny trace at line-level in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right with short horizontal trace lying in upper part of writing space [.] , confused traces suggest diagonal stroke ascending from left to right 9 α . , upright followed, 2 mm further, by trace in upper part of writing space, possibly tip of another upright [.] , upright (above it very short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right, but perhaps it belongs to previous line) 10 υ . , remains of left-hand arc ι . . , first, crossbar whose centre joins another stroke (not preserved) and is in roughly vertical alignment with tiny trace at line-level; second, upper part of right-hand arc touching previous letter? α , remains of triangular letter [.] , upright joining at mid-height another stroke (not preserved) 11 [.] , central part of upright? 12 [.] , upright slightly slanting to right joins at mid-height another partially preserved stroke approaching horizontal 14 . c , remains of triangular letter 16 [.] , extremely tiny trace at mid-height 17 τ . , remains of stroke approaching horizontal at mid-height whose right-hand extremity joins another slightly diagonal

stroke ascending from left to right and lying in lower part of writing space .τ, short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in lower part of writing space; 2 mm further, small trace in upper part of writing space joining following letter: the complex suggests left-hand arc 18 κ', trace in lower part of writing space, possibly part of left-hand arc or loop .τ, short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space, touching following letter; its lower extremity is in vertical alignment with very tiny trace in lower part of writing space .ψ, upper part of upright protruding above writing space and slightly slanting to right .[, vertical stroke, 2 mm long, in upper part of writing space, perhaps part of raised letter as abbreviation 19 φ^η ., central part of upright slightly slanting to right? .[, left-hand arc and bottom part of circle? 20 ., first, tip of upright; second, remains of upper part of upright? .χ, short horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space touching following letter ι ., two tiny traces roughly in vertical alignment] ., upper part of a right-hand arc 21 .[, very tiny trace in upper part of writing space] ., very tiny trace in upper part of writing space

1–20 The preserved text appears to be articulated through two devices: (1) forked *paragraphus* (lines 2 and 11), indicating a substantial break in the text either within the line (in which case it would probably be marked with a blank space) or at the end of it (in which case the line may have ended short); (2) ekthesis of lines 9 and 20. With respect to (1) we have to assume that the text is divided into two sections: in the first section (2–11) the comic writers Menander and Ecphantides are mentioned; the second section (11–20) seems to deal with the origin of Comedy and to introduce a comparison with Tragedy (17). Line 1 should have contained the end of a previous section, probably thematically related to the following one (sec 2 n.). With respect to (2), the context suggests that the ekthesis marks quotations, in the way that it marks lemmata of commentaries. In commentaries the lemma often begins in the line before the line in ekthesis, and the verse citations are normally written out as prose; cf. e.g. LIII 3710, XXX 2737 (= CLGP I.1.4, Aristophanes, no. 27, pp. 157–82), XXI 2306 (= CLGP I.1.1, Alcaeus, no. 11, pp. 150–60).

The supplements suggested are based on the assumption that a line contained originally about 28–30 letters; but in a such cursive script variations in the number of letters per line are to be expected (see 17–20 n.).

2 Two alternative supplements can be suggested:] Φιλίππ[ιδ- and] Φιλίππ[ο-. These personal names can be referred to a comic character or to a comedy writer (cf. 5 and 8, where Menander and Ecphantides are mentioned respectively). There are two comedy writers of the New Comedy called Φιλίππιδης (PCG VII, test. 1–9, fr. 1–41, pp. 333–52) and Φίλιππος (PCG VII, test. 1–4, fr. 1–3, pp. 353–5) respectively. Very speculatively one could suggest in 1–2 Νάν]νιόν, a play by the above-mentioned Philippus.

The forked *paragraphus* at line-beginning should mark the end of a section and the beginning of a new one.

3 τὸ πᾶν[τ]ων ἀξιώ[τατον] Parsons.

4 ποιεῖ αὐτὸν κτλ. Possible reference to a comic writer representing a comic character?

5 ἄγων . . [. In relation to Menander, this sequence can be articulated as the noun ἄγων, or as the present participle of the verb ἄγω. The two uncertain letters at the end of the line may fit γι[, the beginning of a form of γίγνομαι, but τι[is not to be ruled out as an alternative: it could be an indefinite pronoun referred to comedies or comic characters, *exempli gratia* Μέν(ανδρος) ὡς ἄγων τι[/ τι[νά, in the sense 'Menander introducing (on stage) a [comic character]'; cf. 4 n. Unfortunately no syntactical articulation can be reconstructed with certainty: of course ὡς could be used as an adverb or as conjunction. In the latter case it could introduce different types of clauses (declarative, final, causal, etc.); moreover, it could be constructed with the participle.

5–6 A number of supplements may be considered. (1) βαρ]βάρων, or the participle βαρβαρῶν

from the verb βαρβαρώ in relation to characters or linguistic aspects of Comedy. With regard to the representation of certain characters, one could recall Tzetzes' remarks on the fact that New Comedy limits the use of the ψόγος to three specific social categories: slaves, foreigners, and barbarians; see *Scholia in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. Koster, XXIa, p. 88.85–7: καὶ τῆς τρίτης ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος, / πλὴν κατὰ δούλων καὶ ξένων καὶ βαρβάρων, / ἧς ἦν Μένανδρος ἐργάτης καὶ Φιλίμων; cf. also XVIIIa, p. 71.38–39. (2) παιδίσκων κοῖβάρων, capricious courtesans; cf. Plu. *Quaestiones coniviales* 706b ὥσπερ ἀμέλει παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ [παρὰ] τῶν συμποτῶν ἕκαστος ἐπιβουλευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ σοβαρὰν τινα παιδίσκην ἐπάγοντος αὐτοῖς. On meretrices in Menander, cf. fr. 23.2.

In 6 after γι(γν-) a syntactical pause indicated by a short blank space should occur.

6–7 κέ]κλυται would be possible, but the verb is used in poetry: of course, in theory, one could think of a quotation incorporated in the text without any layout device (cf. fr. 1+2 → iv 4–6). Alternatively καύται or τηλι]καύται or κέ]καυται.

8–11 The supplement Ἐκφ[α]γτίδης, suggested by Parsons, fits the traces and the context. Among the very few fragments by this comic writer we have a fragment from a uncertain work criticizing the Megarian Farce (fr. 3 K.–A.), which the Megarians claimed was the origin of Comedy (cf. Arist. *Po.* 1448a). It has to be pointed out the fact that Ecphantides enjoyed a reputation as the eldest comic writer (see Anon. in *Arist. Eth. Nic.* IV 6, CAG XX p. 186 Heylb. = PCG V, p. 126, test. 4, and p. 128, fr. 3); this seems to be compatible with the reconstruction of the argument in 11–12—probably introduced by οὔ]τω—that Comedy was the first to take shape, in the sense of being born or having reached its full form before Tragedy.

As said above, in 9 the ekthesis suggests a quotation. If that is the case, we may think of a line (or a part of it) by Ecphantides; lines 10 and 11 may also represent quotations. The sequence κα. ιδου-πouc is rather difficult to articulate and interpret. We can consider three possibilities: (1) κακιδούπους, as a plural accusative from the adjective κακιδουπος, an unattested formation similar to the Pindaric adjective ἀσπιδόδουπος, with the meaning of 'carrying the noise of shields', as Parsons suggests. The meaning may lead to assume a quotation about noisy battles, unless the adjective was used in a metaphorical sense. In that case it could perhaps be applied to the Megarian Farce, carrying a negative connotation. (2) A form of the personal name Κακίς/Κηκίς, assuming an otherwise unattested second-declension genitive in -δου through metaplasm, a name occurring in Epicharmus, fr. 123 K.–A. (PCG I, pp. 95–6), and in Pherecrates, fr. 10.1 K.–A. (PCG VII, p. 110), and also in an inscription of c.450 BC from Camarina; see F. Cordano, *Le tessere pubbliche dal tempio di Atena a Camarina* (Roma 1992) no. 41. Besides, this form is used as a noun to indicate a servant: see Aristoph. *Vē.* 768 and schol. ad loc.; Poll. III 76, Hesych. c 480 (κηκίς· οἰκογενής δούλος, ἢ δούλη. κτλ.). Note also note that Κακίς is attested as a feminine form for the ethnic Schyta in Ctesias of Cnidos, FGrHist 668 F. 8a, p. 452, and Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Κάκαι, p. 550 (cf. R. Lesi, *Mus. Crit.* 10–12 (1975–7) 86). (3) κανίδου πούς, considering κανίδου as an otherwise unattested second-declension form through metaplasm for κανίς, -ίδος, perhaps to be understood as the platform of the stage. The phrase κανίδου πούς would mean then 'foot/base of the stage', possibly in relation to εὐσταθείας in 11 in the sense of 'firm foundation'.

The textual elements surviving in 10 and 11—ἐῤῥξαιτο and εὐσταθείας—may be thematically related to interpretation (1) of the sequence κα. ιδουπouc in 9: the idea of boasting and of firm foundation may fit a sort of poetic manifesto by Ecphantides, taking a clear-cut position against the Megarian Farce, criticizing somebody who 'might boast . . .'—perhaps affirming his superiority or priority as a comic writer?—in relation to a well-built comedy structure (e.g. μετ'] | εὐσταθείας), which could also be related to τάξεως in 13. From a metrical standpoint in 10 the phrase ἐῤῥξαιτο δ' ἄν κ(αι) could fit a trimeter, assuming that κ(αι) is in crasis, e.g. κἀκ[εῖνος. In 11 εὐσταθείας would certainly fit an iambic trimeter, either near the beginning (e.g. μετ'] | εὐσταθείας) or after the caesura. After that, if the trimeter carries on, the sequencε ἀπε. [—if epsilon is short—should represent the resolution of the long element into two shorts. More problematic appears line 9: the sequence κ(αι)

ca. ἰδοῦπος κ(αι) ἄ. [could be the beginning of a trimeter if ca. ἰδου scans as a crctic and κ(αι) ἄ. [is taken as a crasis. But supplements (1) and (2) suggested above would produce a choriamb, which in the first *metron* of an iambic trimeter is very rare in tragedy and can hardly be paralleled in Comedy (see Martinelli, *Gli strumenti del poeta* 94–5, 111).

11–17 In 11 the forked *paragraphus* indicates the beginning of a new section. Since the scribe usually writes consistently iota adscript, it is perhaps advisable to exclude a dative at the beginning of 12 for the sequence τω. Among the possibilities: οὐ]τω or an imperative like λεγέ]τω with Comedy as subject (Parsons). In 13 the expression τάξεως εἴληχεν could be taken in the sense of ‘took shape’, ‘was organized’ (cf. Plu. *Mor.* 1024b). In 14 Διονυσ() ἀσπαζομέ[- is likely to indicate the relationship between Comedy and Dionysus, and may be supplied as ἀσπαζομέ[νη, having as subject Comedy, in the sense of ‘embracing Dionysus (in her process of taking shape)’. In 15 the sequence δημω[leads one to think of a mention of the function of Comedy as an instrument of political and social criticism, and therefore of the education of the people; see: Aristoph. *Ach.* 631; Xenoph. *Ath.* 2.18; Luc. *Anach.* 22; Marcus Aurelius 11.6; *Scholia in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. Koster, V. Περὶ τῆς κωμωδίας, p. 14.19 ([Cratinus] . . . ὡσπερ δημοσία μάστιγι τῆ κωμωδία κολάζων), XIb. Anonymi Cramerii 1, p. 40.24–35. The adjective δημώδης probably qualifies the preceding αὐτήν indicating Comedy. Note that it is used in *Scholia in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. Koster, XV, p. 66.43, referring to λέξις in the sense of ‘common’, ‘popular’ (κωμικὴ ἐστὶ λέξις κοινὴ καὶ δημώδης); here it is tempting to give it the meaning of ‘democratic’. In 15–16 a very likely supplement may be εἴ]θρεψε, possibly referring to a metaphorical upbringing of Comedy. If so, a putative father could be Dionysus himself (cf. Aristoph. *Nu.* 531–2). The basic line of thought could be that Comedy took shape as first (i.e. before Tragedy) and that Dionysus brought her up in her function of a democratic instrument. Developing this line of interpretation at the end of 14 one may supply a verb with Dionysus as subject, e.g. ἀνείλατο (Parsons) in the sense of recognizing as a child.

οὐ-]

τω δὲ πρώτη κωμ[ωδία c.15
 τάξεως εἴληχεν [ὡς τὸν φιλογέλωτα
 Διόνυσ(ον) ἀσπαζομέ[νη c.5 ἀνείλατο
 15 γ(ὰρ) αὐτήν κ(αι) δημώ[δη κ(αι) c.10 εἴ-
 θρεψε ἀποδείξα[ς πολλῶ χρηστοτέραν
 εἶν(αι) τῆς τραγω(δίας) τὴν κ[ωμωδίαν

A rough translation could be: ‘In this way Comedy first took shape, welcoming Dionysus [as lover of laughter. . .] for [he recognized] her [as his child and] brought her up as democratic [and . . .] showing that Comedy is [more useful] than Tragedy.’

As far as I know, however, the claim that Comedy took shape before Tragedy does not occur in any source.

17–20 κ(αι) αὐτὸς in 18 is very likely to refer to οὐ(τω)ς φη(εἰ) in 19; the subject must come at the end of 17. The letter α at the beginning of 19 may be interpreted in three different ways: (a) End of a word of the preceding line; but this seems to be not very likely, since there are no other examples of such an unexpected word division in this papyrus. (b) It could be a word itself, the relative pronoun neuter plural ἃ, but the syntax is not clear. (c) As Parsons suggests, it may be taken as a numeral, although the usual horizontal stroke is not preserved, but this could have fallen *in lacuna* just above the letter. Such a numeral may be used to indicate the first of two plays with the same title, the second of which should be indicated with a β. Such a case is attested several times for Aristophanes; see: XXX 2659, a list of comic poets and their plays of the 2nd century, fr. 2, col. i 10 Νε]φέλαι β', and 14 Πλ]οῦτ[ο]ς α' (cf. PCG III.2, test. 2c, p. 6); *Scholia in Aristophanes: Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. Koster, XXXa, p. 142 (cf. PCG III.2, test. 2a, pp. 4–5) Αἰολοκίκων β' (line 8), Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι β' (lines 13–14),

Νεφέλαι β' (line 16), Πλούτος β' (lines 17–18). Besides, the fifth/fourth-century-BC comic poet Diocles is author of a Θυέστης β' according to *Suda* δ 1155, while Schol. (Ald.) in Aristoph. *Nu.* 109d (I 3.1, p. 34.19–20 Holwerda) refers to the *Αυτόλικος β'* by Eupolis (cf. PCG V, test. 1, p. 18). With regard to Menander's production, see XXVIII 2462, a list of Menander's plays of the 2nd century, line 9 *Ἀδελφοί* $\overline{αβ}$ (cf. PCG VI.2, test. 41, p. 16), and Harp. p. 226.8 Dind. (O 35 Keaney), who refers to the *Ἐπικλήρος β'* (cf. PCG VI.2, fr. 136, p. 110). In this respect one could take into consideration a particular feature of Menander's rather formulaic epilogues to his plays: the 'metatheatrical' dimension, in which the author gets directly in contact with the audience, addressing the spectators by inviting them to clap, in the context of the announcement of the *komos* to lead off the actors, asking for garland and torch, and the prayer to the goddesses Nike for victory (*Dysk.* 965–9; *Mis.* 464–6; *Sam.* 733–7; *Sik.* 420–23; *Epit.* fr. 20; cf. fr. 1+2 →iv 29–31 n., and see A. Martina, *Menandro Epitrepontes* (Roma 2000) ii.2 602–7, comm. on fr. 20). According to my reconstruction of the text, in 5093 an author is reported to make a statement $\pi[(\epsilon\rho\iota)]$ $\kappa\omega\mu\omega[\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$ in the epilogue of his play. Given the 'formulariness' of the 'metatheatrical' epilogues of Menander, I am more inclined to think that the comedy writer quoted as the author of 'a certain play alpha' is Menander rather than Aristophanes or somebody else, although of course it is not possible to prove it. On this basis lines 18–19 could be supplied *exempli gratia* as follows:

Μέναν(δροσ) δὲ]
 $\kappa(\alpha\iota)$ ἀὐτὸς ἐν ἐπιλόγ(ω) [τῆς Ἐπικλήρου
 $\bar{\alpha}$ οὐ(τωσ) φη(σι) $\pi[(\epsilon\rho\iota)]$ $\kappa\omega\mu\omega[\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$ c.16

In 18 I have chosen the supplement $\tau\eta\varsigma$ Ἐπικλήρου because it fits better the space available in lacuna (note that this line would have 25 letters, i.e. it would be rather shorter than average, but this is not impossible taking into consideration the cursivity of the script, as said in 1–20 n.). One could think that the space available in lacuna in 19 after the trace I have interpreted as $\pi^{\prime} = \pi[(\epsilon\rho\iota)]$ (cf. fr. 1+2 →iv 14) may have contained a $\tau^{\prime} = \tau(\eta\varsigma)$. However, this abbreviation for the article is never attested in 5093. Therefore perhaps the article was accidentally omitted or, taking into consideration the numerous books simply called $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\kappa\omega\mu\omega\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (cf. fr. 3, 1–10 n.), one could think that the phrase $\pi[(\epsilon\rho\iota)]$ $\kappa\omega\mu\omega[\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$ survived in the papyrus is just what the author meant. For the abbreviation ἐν ἐπιλόγ(ω) in 18, cf. fr. 1+2 →ii 17. This word has here the specific meaning of 'concluding part of a play', i.e. *ἐκθεσις*, which is attested in Schol. vet. in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1500 Dübner (cf. LJS s.v. 11.2) and in Schol. rec. in *Nu.* 1452b (Thomas/Triclinius, ed. Koster, I 3.2, p. 194).

In 20 the ekthesis suggests a quotation, which, according to the reconstruction of the text in 18–19, is likely to come from Menander. At the very beginning, the first trace could be reconstructed as a ι, while the following ones may fit a c with extended flat top, as in 5 $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\iota$ [. We could reasonably assume that a quotation from Menander would be in iambic trimeters, since they represent the great bulk of his work (iambic tetrameters catalectic only occasionally, and lyric metres in special circumstances; cf. Gomme–Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* 36; Martina, *Menandro Epitrepontes* ii.1 16–17, 311–12). On the basis of the sequence we could then say that either (a) the line begins a trimeter, or (b) it continues a trimeter from the line before. If (a), the final trace of the sequence $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\iota$ [must belong to a vowel or a consonant or pair of consonants that do not lengthen the preceding iota. Possible supplements are a form of Attic future of the verb $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\iota$ –/ $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ –, or of the sigmatic aorist of the same verb, or of the adjective $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. However, none of them seems to fit the traces. If (b), we could supply $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\zeta$ [: the traces after the sequence $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\iota$ suggest the round top of a ζ, as in 14 $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon$ [: after the lacuna of about two letters, the remaining trace fits an ο. I am inclined to suggest $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta$ [ετ]ο—in the sense of 'to be strong, insist'?—(or a compound beginning in the previous line, like $\delta\iota\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\kappa\chi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\kappa\upsilon\upsilon\iota\chi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$; but note that neither the verb $\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ itself nor its compounds are attested in the surviving works by Menander). The full form

would occupy the end of a trimeter; if the final *o* was elided, it could come earlier, as e.g. ἐκεῖνος] | ἰσχυρίζετ' (for letters that should be elided for the sake of the metrical laws but are written in *scriptio continua* in papyri, see *GLAW*² 8), but in that case we have to assume that κ(αι) was no part of the quotation. Assuming *exempli gratia* that ἰσχυρίζ[ετ]ο comes at the end of a trimeter, the first part of the trimeter should have come in 19 (of course we cannot exclude the possibility that only a part of a trimeter was quoted). In that case we need a rough estimate of the number of letters that a Menander trimeter could have contained: a random check suggests that a Menander trimeter may contain from about 25 letters to 32 letters (e.g. *Asp.* 133, 268, *Dysk.* 969 = 24.5; *Asp.* 331, *Dysk.* 384, *Epit.* 1116, *Pk.* 162, 811 = 25; *Asp.* 400, *Georg.* 68, 76, *Mis.* 260, *Pk.* 389, 503 = 25.5; *Asp.* 145, *Epit.* 302, *Mis.* 210, *Pk.* 467 = 26; *Dis. Ex.* 20, 111, *Dysk.* 107, 287, *Mis.* 7, 297 = 26.5; *Dysk.* 447, 479, 961, *Epit.* 261, 375, *Georg.* 23, 76, *Mis.* 299, *Pk.* 129, 363, 527 = 27; *Asp.* 120, *Dis. Ex.* 96, 112, *Epit.* 1100, *Georg.* 5, *Mis.* 303, *Pk.* 355 = 27.5; *Asp.* 60, *Dis. Ex.* 21, 94, 103, *Epit.* 1071, *Georg.* 51, *Mis.* 139, 296, 298, *Pk.* 375, *Sam.* 54 = 28; *Dis. Ex.* 97, *Epit.* 1120, *Georg.* 72, 80, 82, 86, *Mis.* 304, 318, *Pk.* 469, 483, 710 = 28.5; *Asp.* 4, *Dysk.* 311, 521, *Mis.* 282, 301 = 29; *Asp.* 96, 385, *Dis. Ex.* 100, *Dysk.* 4, 232, 822, *Epit.* 231, 418, 514, *Georg.* 47, *Mis.* 170, 300, 305 = 29.5; *Dysk.* 835, *Mis.* 321, *Sam.* 18 = 30; *Asp.* 416, *Dis. Ex.* 17, 27, 61, 101, 104, 105, *Dysk.* 186, *Georg.* 79 = 30.5; *Asp.* 360, *Georg.* 17, 75, *Epit.* 562, *Sam.* 45 = 31; *Asp.* 114, *Dis. Ex.* 16, 19, 95, *Dysk.* 666, *Epit.* 1127, *Georg.* 74, 77 = 31.5; *Asp.* 326, *Mis.* 1, *Pk.* 550 = 32; *Asp.* 13, 301, *Georg.* 73, *Dysk.* 66, *Mis.* 207, 310, *Pk.* 186, 540 = 32.5). Besides, we could also assume that the word κωμωδία supplied at the end of 19 could have been written in abbreviated form as κωμωδ(ία), so that we could have roughly c.20 letters *in lacuna*; considering also the irregularity of the script and the possible occurrence of abbreviations as well as the possibility of blank space before quotation, we can conclude that there is a statistic possibility that a Menander trimeter was quoted in 19–20: with regard to its length, we would have several alternatives within a range of c.25–c.32 letters.

Fr. 5 →

Col. i

?top
]νομ^ε
]. αγ'
]. λξ
]. γυρο
 5]ντης
]. θε
]ξφη
]εοδω
]. ξε
 10]τοπ'
]νε.⁺
]τ. α
]. ν
]αμει
 15]. ρου
]. τοδ

Col. ii

?top
 ημ'. [
 ηδε. [
 μ. [
 ω[
 5 ταξ[. . . .][
 τα. [. . .]ω. [
 καν[. .]ω. [
 ατρ. ω. [
 τι[. .]του[
 10 ς. φρ. [
 μ[. .]ωι[
 . [. . .]ετ[
 . [. . .][
 ηαθρο. [
 15 ραιθυμ. . [. . .][
 περαιτερω. [
]

	]υΧφ ^η		τελεσα . . ρρα . [
	]δ ^ο		βακχειαις . [
	] . αρ		κ'τ . [. .] . ις [
20	] . . αρ ^γ	20	αρ . [c.3] ^τ . α . [
	]ν		[c.8] . [
]		[
] [
	]θαυ		φω . [
25	]νεις	25	φοτ [
	] . το		αν . [
	]ηθη		. [
	]ωπτω		. [
	]εξε .		. . . . .

Col. i

2] . α, upright with tip joining crossbar to left, τ or τ 3] . , remains of small right-hand arc in upper part of writing space 4] . , remains of small right-hand arc in upper part of writing space 6] . , tip of triangular letter, probably α 9] . , tip of upright? 11]νε⁺, extremities of square letter, κ, ν, or χ 12 τ . , upper part of left-hand arc? 13] . . , first, trace at line-level, possibly foot of upright; second, two traces in vertical alignment at line-level and in lower part of writing space respectively, possibly belonging to upright 15] . . , first, remains of curve approaching left-hand arc; second, upright; close to it trace at mid-height, possibly remains of loop, φ? 16] . , lower half of upright 19] . , upper part of diagonal stroke rising from left to right and touching upper extremity of loop of following α, possibly γ 20] . . , first, two traces in vertical alignment lying at line-level and in upper part of the writing space, possibly extremities of left-hand arc; second, upright joining following α with horizontal stroke at mid-height, possibly ι with ligature 23] . . . , first, trace at line-level; second, remains of lower part of upright protruding below line-level; third, trace at line-level 26] . , very thin vertical trace above writing space touching left-hand extremity of crossbar of following τ 29 ε . , remains of upper part of upright

Col. ii

1] . , left-hand arc 2] . , left-hand arc 3] . , part of curve that may belong to upper half of left-hand arc 5 . . , first, right-hand arc rather oval, probably ο; second, left-hand half of ν or μ 6 τα . , rather big upper arc . ω, join between two strokes of which only one is partially preserved to the extent of upper part of upright . , rather thick upright 7] . , upright bearing remains of crossbar with a sort of grave accent above, probably abbreviation 8 ρ . , short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right, departing from mid-height and touching left-hand extremity of first lobe of following ω . , remains of upright joining at mid-height to right another stroke (not preserved) 10 c . , tiny trace at mid-height in vertical alignment with upper extremity of previous c . , left-hand arc 12] . , very short and tiny vertical stroke in upper part of writing space; 2 mm further, extremely tiny mark in lower part of writing space . . , first, upper arc; second, tiny short stroke approaching vertical in upper part of writing space 13] . , loop in lower part of writing space, very likely belonging to α . . , first, very tiny mark at line-level; second, join between two strokes in lower part of writing space 14] . , circle with open top: ο

or left-hand lobe of ω 15 . . . [, first, tiny trace at line-level; second, trace of upright descending below line-level? (but it could belong to following line) . . . [, first, trace at line-level; second, foot of rather thick upright? 16 . . . [, ligature at mid-height between ω and following letter (not preserved) 17 α . . . , ligature with preceding letter forms curve approaching left-hand arc: ϵ or ϵ . . . ρ , short vertical trace at mid-height . . . [, upright reaching mid-height and joining to right another stroke (not preserved) 18 . . . [, remains of loop and tiny trace lying in upper part of writing space, suggesting α 19 . . . [, two traces in vertical alignment lying in upper part of writing space and at mid-height respectively; the first one touches right-hand extremity of crossbar of preceding τ . . .], right-hand arc 20 . . . [, upper half of upright . . . α , trace of rather odd shape: perhaps upper part of α ? 21 . . . [, two tiny traces very close to each other in vertical alignment in lower part of writing space 22 . . . [, trace in upper part of writing space 23 . . . [, first, lower part of upright descending below line-level; second, remains of bottom arc; third, trace in lower part of writing space 24 ω . . . [, ligature at mid-height between ω and following letter (not preserved) 25 . . . [, very tiny horizontal trace in upper part of writing space; below, very close to it, stroke approaching horizontal, 1.5 mm long; possibly ϵ or θ 26 . . . [, trace at line-level, possibly foot of upright; above, in upper part of writing space, curve approaching horizontal: the complex suggests τ 27 . . . [, tiny horizontal trace in upper part of writing space

Col. i

Possible articulations: 2 $\gamma(\acute{\alpha}\rho)$; 4 $\acute{\alpha}]ργυρο-$, cf. 20 $αργ()$; 7 $φη(κί)$; 8 e.g. $Θ]ξοδω(ρ-)?$, cf. fr. 9.8; 10 $π(ερί)$; 14–15, possibly a reference to or quotation from (note in 7 and 17 $φη(κί)$) the comic poet *Amipsias* (PCG II, pp. 197–211), as Parsons suggests (on the popularity of Amipsias in Oxyrhynchus, see also XXXIII 2659, a list of comic writers and comedies of the first/second century, listing two plays of this comic writer, *Moschmoi* and *Sappho*; his name is to be supplied in *lacuna*); 17 $Εὐνο]υχ(-) φη(κί)$: possibly a quotation from Menander's *Εὐνοῦχος* (PCG VI.2, pp. 110–16, frs. 110–49) or from Diphilus' *Εὐνοῦχος ἢ Στρατιώτης* (PCG V, p. 54); 28 $-κκ]ώπτω(ν)$.

Col. ii

Three sections of the column—3–4, 9–11, and 18–20—are in eisthesis. Unfortunately the scanty remains of the column do not allow us to establish if they are quotations, and if so, if they are of verse. Taking into consideration the sequence $βακχειαις$. . . [in 18, one could think of a relation with the theme of violence in Tragedy and the references to Pentheus' myth.

9 $τί[ε]$ (or $τι[ε]$) $του[τ-$

10 $σωφρο[-$ or $σωφρω[-?$ Note that the motif of the $σωφρονεῖν$ in relation to the devotion to Dionysus often occurs in *E. Ba.*; see e.g. 1150–51 $τὸ σωφρονεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐβειν τὰ τῶν θεῶν / κάλλιστον$; cf. also 314, 317, 329, 504, 686, 940, 1341.

14 $ἀθρόω[ι$ or $ἀθρόω[ν$, or the corresponding adverb $ἀθρόω[ε$. Note that in *E. Ba.* 725 this adjective refers to the invocation to Dionysus by the Bacchantes (*Ἰακχὸν ἀθρόω ἐτόματι τὸν Διὸς γόνον*).

15 A form of the adjective $ῥάθυμος$, $-ον$, or of the corresponding verb or noun: the notion of carelessness may be related to the attitude of Pentheus towards Dionysus' cult.

16 $πειρατέρω[ι$ [or $πειρατέρω[ν$ [. In this context perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'beyond human nature, power or understanding'.

17 The sequence $.ρρα$. . . [may be restored as $ἐρράγ[η$, from the verb $ῥήγνυμι$; in *E. Ba.* 1130 the phrase $ῥηγνῦσα κάρκας$ describes Ino's action in the *σπαραγμός* of Pentheus. It is therefore very tempting to see in 5093 a reference to Pentheus. The previous sequence can be interpreted as a participle, $τελέεας$, in the sense of 'performing rites'; if referred to Pentheus, the general sense of the passage may be that Pentheus, having joined the Bacchantes in performing the Bacchic rites, was lacerated by his own mother.

18 The sequence can be considered a form of the feminine noun *βακχεία*, indicating the Bacchic revelry (as in *E. Ba.* 232 and 1293), or as a form of the adjective *βακχεῖος*. If this is the beginning of a metrical quotation, it clearly does not belong to an iambic trimeter. But the indentation may suggest that the text here continues from the line before, in which case *βακχεῖαις* could fit a trimeter after the fourth-foot caesura.

Fr. 6 →

top
]λωε
]μῖθυ[
] δανι
] κῆτοι
 5] ελεουν
] ξαεθαι
] ταεθε
] κᾶλλο
] υχηε
 10] ευοντι
] τευ
] ..
 . . .

Fr. 7 →

. . .
] ρω . [
] ιουσαδι . [
] ννηθεις . [
] κνιανπρ . [
 5] υειεελε . [
] ον εκριν . [
] τορθουε . [
] ονουσαδ[
 . . .

Fr. 6

3] δ, remains of upright 5] , scanty remains of ligature with following ε
 9] . , first, remains of upright in upper part of writing space; second, right-hand arc of round letter
 10] , vertical trace in upper part of writing space; to right remains of ligature with following letter
 11] . , ligature with following letter in upper part of writing space; second, small circle, probably head of ρ 12] . , first, stroke approaching horizontal in upper part of writing space; second, top of round letter?

Fr. 7

1] . , scanty traces suggest shape of left-hand arc [, lower part of upright protruding below line-level 2] . , short horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space joining following letter [, remains of left-hand arc 3] . , very tiny trace at line-level [, foot of upright?
 4] . , oblique trace ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space; stroke approaching horizontal at mid-height and touching following letter [, left-hand arc 5] . , diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part of writing space [, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right with tip curving downwards 6] . , very small trace in upper part of writing space touching following letter [, small traces almost in vertical alignment, part of upright or left-hand arc 7] . , trace at line-level [, thick and blurred trace in lower part of writing space
 8] . , blurred trace in upper part of writing space

Fr. 6

5 *ελεουν-*. Part of a participle from the verb *ελεέω*, perhaps in relation to the stimulation of feelings of pity through tragic performances?

6 θ]ε̂α̂cθαι, possibly in the technical sense of being a spectator at dramatic performances (LSJ s.v. 3).

Fr. 7

Possible articulations: 3 γ]εννηθε̂ις [; 4 ε̂ντ]εκν̂ίαν, cf. fr. 1+2 ↓ 17 ε̂νπαιδ[; 5 υ̂ίει̂ς; 6 ἐκριν [; 7 ὀρθο̂νς.

Fr. 8 →

· ·
] . . . εκ̂φ̂ [.
]δεορταc [.
]αιαντοι [.
]εθοριο [.
5] . μεcωι [.
]κριτ [.
· ·

Fr. 9 →

· ·
] . ωcο [.
]εγωδ [.
]αναξι [.
]παιδο [.
5 . . ου [.
υπαν [.
τονα [.
δω [.
βου [.
10 τα [.
· ·

Fr. 10 →

· ·
] . [.
] . του [.
]cτεφ [.
] [.
· ·

Fr. 8

1] . . , first, very tiny trace at line-level; second, bottom arc? [. , left-hand arc 3] . , short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity joins left-hand extremity of horizontal stroke lying at mid-height 4] . [. , lower part of upright slightly slanting to right 5] . , upper part of upright [. [. , tiny trace in lower part of writing space

Fr. 9

1] . , bottom arc [. [. , two traces in vertical alignment in upper part of writing space and at line-level respectively 2] . [. , remains of left-hand arc 4] . [. , two tiny traces in vertical alignment very close to each other in upper part of writing space and at mid-height respectively 5] . . , first, two very tiny traces below line-level; second, extremely tiny trace in upper part of writing space [. [. , upright slightly slanting to left, whose upper part intersects diagonal stroke ascending from left to right and lying in upper part of writing space 6] . [. , remains of left-hand part of crossbar? below, in lower part of writing space, tiny vertical trace, 0.5 mm long, at edge 7] . [. , circle in upper part of writing space 8] . [. , two extremely tiny traces almost in vertical alignment lying in upper part of writing space and at line-level respectively 9] . [. , rather short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity touches tip of right-hand oblique of previous γ

Fr. 10

1] . , very tiny trace below line-level 2] . , thick trace at mid-height 4] [. , first, tiny trace in upper part of writing space; second, thin short diagonal trace ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space at edge of gap; third, upper part of upright whose tip joins to left

short stroke approaching horizontal; fourth, remains of top arc with sign of abbreviation consisting of a diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space; fifth, blurred trace in upper part of writing space touching centre of abbreviation stroke of previous letter

Fr. 8

Possible articulations: 2 δ' έορτάς; 3 αὐτοῖ; 4 μ]εθόριο-; 5 μέεωι; 6 cf. fr. 15.1.

Fr. 9

Possible articulations: 2 ἐγὼ δέ; 3 ἀναξι[-, cf. fr. 3.8 and fr. 4.3; 4 παιδο. [, cf. fr. 1+2 → iv 19 παιδοφονίας. For the abbreviation in 8 cf. fr. 5 i 8.

6-10 remains to left of intercolumnium to 0.7 cm.

Fr. 10

3 See fr. 1+2 → iii 7 and 23-4 n., iv 16.

4 π(ερὶ) [?

Fr. 11 →

col. i

. .
].
]
]ε
].
. .

col. ii

. .
]. . [.
]φα[
στεφ. [
σμακ[
5 νιαικ[
απεε. [
αιαιπ. [
κατε. [
. νω[
. .

Fr. 12 →

. .
]. ε. [
]. ιαμβ. [
]ενον. [
]ωτ^ομ. [
5]. τηνε. [
]. ρωτ. [
]. ιδον [
]τ^οπρ[[α]]'ο'. [
]εανδ[
10]. [

Fr. 11 col. i

1],, two traces in vertical alignment in upper part of writing space and at mid-height respectively 4],, thin vertical stroke, 0.2 cm long, probably remains of upright

Col. ii

1],, very short diagonal trace at line-level 2],, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right, whose tip joins to left horizontal stroke 3],, traces suggesting a thin stroke approaching horizontal, which could be part of upright or left-hand arc 6],, upright 7],, short diagonal trace descending from left to right at mid-height 8],, short diagonal trace ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space 9 . . ν, tip of upright protruding above writing space, followed, 2 mm further, by very tiny and faded trace in upper part of writing space: square letter?

Fr. 12

1],, two extremely tiny traces in lower part of writing space very close to each other 2],,

foot of upright 2], short horizontal trace at line-level 3], left-hand arc 4], three extremely tiny traces very close to each other in vertical alignment in upper part of writing space; very tiny trace at line-level in vertical alignment with previous group of traces 5], very tiny vertical trace in upper part of writing space, rather close to previous letter 6], trace protruding above writing space 7], vertical stroke, perhaps central part of upright? 8], slightly diagonal trace descending from left to right in lower part of writing space and at mid-height 9], circle with open top: o or left-hand lobe of ω? 10], short slightly diagonal stroke slanting to left in upper part of writing space 11]το, position of o above the crossbar of τ raises the question whether it is meant as an addition, i.e. το, or as an abbreviation, i.e. το() π, corrected from a previous letter, perhaps ζ? 12], slightly blurred trace belonging to upper part of upright or part of the deletion strokes of previous α 13], , first, tiny diagonal trace descending from left to right in upper part of writing space; second, tip of upright followed by sign of abbreviation consisting of a diagonal descending from right to left, probably κ; third, remains of crossbar? fourth, tip of triangular letter? fifth, upper part of upright

Fr. 11 col. ii

3 See fr. 10.3 n.

6 ἀπεκκ[εδ-. Past form of ἀποκεδάννυμι in the sense of 'to scatter': reference to Pentheus' *sparagmos*? Cf. fr. 5 ii 17 n. and E. *Ba.* 1137-9.

Fr. 12

2 ἰαμβο[or ἰαμβε[. Possible form of the noun ἰαμβος or from the adjective ἰαμβεῖος, referring to Tragedy or Comedy?

4 Possibly γέλωτο(ς); cf. 8.

Fr. 13 →

·
·
]εμιδ·[
·
]ημιν[
·
]αλλο·[
·
]θωη·[
·
·

Fr. 14 →

·
·
]αιου·[
·
]υπερ·[
·
]φηαρφ[
·
]ρεξ·[
·
·

Fr. 15 →

·
·
]κριτά[
·
]νοικεπ[
·
]μ'εγρμ[
·
]·[
·
·

Fr. 13

1], lower extremity of upright protruding below writing space and ending with leftwards curve 2], two traces in vertical alignment, lying in upper part of writing space and at line-level respectively 3], diagonal stroke descending from left to right with upper extremity curving to right, λ or ε 4], diagonal ascending from left to right 5], very tiny trace at mid-height 6], upper part of upright whose tip joins left-hand extremity of horizontal, possibly belonging to crossbar

Fr. 14

1], faded remains of upright slightly slanting to right 2], upright 3], left-hand angle of triangular letter 4], remains of ligature with following letter, consisting of a diagonal trace descending from left to right in upper part of writing space φ, remains of abbreviation stroke, slightly slanting to right, attached to left upper part of body of letter 5], two tiny traces in vertical alignment very close to each other in upper part of writing space 6], upper part of left-hand arc intersecting upright from previous line

Fr. 15

1] . , trace at line-level in vertical alignment with left-hand extremity of horizontal 2] . , left-hand arc 3] . , remains of left-hand arc 4] . , tip of upright?

Fr. 13

Possible articulations: 2 ἡμῶν; 4 θωῆ, 'punishment'?

Fr. 14

3 ὦ]ζ φη(ει) or] ξφη (cf. fr. 3.8).

Ἀρ(ιςτο)φ(άνης)?, reading αρφ' (with abbreviation stroke) and taking it as a monogram similar to the monogram ΑΡΨ for Ἀρ(ιςτό)ν(ικος), as Parsons suggests; but K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (2007) 38, does not record this form in marginal references to Aristophanes of Byzantium (while the monogram for Aristonicus is illustrated at p. 39). The presence of Aristophanes of Byzantium as a source is perfectly compatible with the topics of other sections dealing with tragedy, comedy, Euripides, and Menander (cf. fr. 1+2 → iv 1–14 n., 14–22 n.; fr. 4.5 n., 5–6 n., 17–20 n.). Alternatively, one could consider the sequence αρφ[as metathesis for ἀφρ', but the instance is not to be found in Gignac, *Grammar* i 314–15.

Fr. 15

Possible articulations: 1 ε]γκριτ(), from συγκριτικός, comparative?, cf. fr. 8.6; 3 μ(έν) ἐγρ(αφ-), cf. fr. 3.7.

Fr. 16 →

· ·
] . . [.] . . . [.
] μα . . λα [.
] κρι^cαλ . [.
] ξα^cφαλε . [.
5] εⁱφⁱθωκ . [.
] ριψαν ου [.
] κ . [.
· ·

Fr. 17 →

· ·
] . χ . [.
] ca [.
] θεμ [.
] ειπ . . . [.
5] . ου . [.
] . υπενοη [.
] . ε^θ ιε [.
] . κοτ [.
] . αγ κ' [.
10] . εμεε . [.
] μη [μ] δεν [.
] . μφο^τ . [.
· ·

Fr. 18 →

· ·
] . [.] . [.
] λενο . [.] αρτα [.
] ουνκ [.] ναν [.
] γονος [.] σεκα [.
5] cδετ [.] ελθο . [.
] μει . . [.] . . ον . [.
] . . . α [.] . κ' τ [.
] . . [. . .] . ες [.
] . αλ [.
· ·

Fr. 16

1] . . , first, horizontal stroke in lower part of writing space, 3 mm long; second, extremity of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right?] . . . , first, lower extremity of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right?; second, lower extremity of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right; third, trace at line-level 2 α . . , first, remains of curve approaching left-hand arc and ligatured with following letter; second, wide curve approaching upper part of left-hand arc and touching following

letter 3 .[, traces in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space
 space 4 .[, upright 5 κ .[, remains of upright? 7] . . . , first, tiny trace in upper part of writing space; second, tip of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right; third, tiny and faded trace in upper part of writing space; fourth, tiny trace in upper part of writing space κ .[, remains of left-hand are in upper part of writing space

Fr. 17

1] . , horizontal stroke at mid-height .[, remains of left-hand are? 4 π . . , first, upright followed, 3 mm further, by trace at line-level; second, part of upright protruding below line-level; 3 mm further, very tiny trace at mid-height .[, left-hand arc 5] . , right-hand arc in upper part of writing space, very likely raised letter belonging to abbreviation .[, 1-mm-long diagonal trace ascending from left to right at line-level 6] . , horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long, in upper part of writing space, touching following letter 7] . , trace in upper part of writing space 8] . , tip of upright; 1 mm further, tiny trace in upper part of writing space 9] . , trace below line-level .[, upright slightly slanting to right in lower part of writing space; above, diagonal stroke descending from left to right, possibly sign of abbreviation 10] . , part of diagonal stroke descending from left to right in ligature with following letter .[, remains of left-hand are 11 η written in a very reduced form, or rather ι? second μ bearing a sort of circumflex accent as a sign of deletion? δ overwritten on a previous letter? 12] . , upper part of diagonal stroke descending from left to right .[, very scanty remains of upright

Fr. 18

1] . , tiny trace in upper part of writing space .[, foot of long upright touching left-hand end of crossbar of τ of following line 2 ο . , remains of upright 3] . , right-hand arc in upper part of writing space 5 .[, horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space curving down to right, linked to remains of upright? 6 ει . , upper part of upright .[, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right with upper extremity curving down . . ο, first, right-hand half of crossbar, touching tip of following letter; second, upright? .[, short slightly diagonal trace ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space, in vertical alignment with tiny trace at line-level 7] . . , first, very short horizontal trace in upper part of writing space; second, tip of upright? . . a, apex in upper part of writing space, followed 2 mm further by upright, n possible] . , join between horizontal stroke and upright in upper part of writing space (only extremities of these stroke are preserved) 8] . . , first, tip of upright?; second, curve approaching left-hand arc whose upper tip joins tip of thin vertical stroke: the complex suggests cursive ε, similar to the ε in the same line] . , ligature with following letter consisting of stroke at mid-height slightly ascending to left 9] . , ligature with following letter consisting of short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part of writing space

Fr. 16

4 ἀσφαλεῖ[α-?

Fr. 17

Possible articulations: 5]ω(); 9 κ(αι); μ(ἐν)[; 12] ἀμφοτ(-).

Fr. 18

There are in fact two fragments: I have assumed that in the first 7 lines a letter is missing between the two fragments, but this is not certain.

Fr. 19 →

.
 .
] . [.
] . υ [.
] [.
] c o δ . [.
 5] . ν κ α σ τ ο . [.
] . . . ρ γ ε ι ω . [.
] . . . α δ ε μ [.
] . . α σ . . . [.
] θ ε υ [.
 10] . ν . υ [.
] . [.
 .
 .

Fr. 20 →

.
 .
] [.
] c α μ υ [.
] λ ε φ θ [.
] . φ . ν η ς [.
 5] . ρ ο σ . . . [.
] . c τ ε [.
] . . . [.
 .
 .

Fr. 19

1] . , traces in lower part of writing space 2] . , right-hand arc, either head of ρ or ο
 3] . . , first, right-hand arc; second, upper part of upright . . [, first, stroke approaching horizontal,
 1 mm long, at mid-height; second, remains of triangular letter, either α or Δ 4 . [, lower part of
 diagonal descending from left to right in lower part of writing space 5] . , very short diagonal
 trace descending from right to left touching at mid-height upright of following letter . [, lower half
 of upright protruding below line-level 6] . . , first, tip of upright protruding above, belonging
 to triangular letter?; second, very tiny trace in lower part of writing space at edge of lacuna . ρ,
 very thin tiny diagonal trace ascending from left to right in lower part of writing space, followed 1
 mm further by upright joining to left remains of horizontal stroke at mid-height . [, only join with
 previous letter preserved, consisting of diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part
 of writing space and departing from the upper extremity of the right-hand lobe of the preceding ω
 7] . . . , first, trace at line-level at edge of lacuna; second, trace at line-level at edge of lacuna; third,
 trace at line-level at edge of lacuna, in vertical alignment with tiny trace in upper part of writing
 space, lying at the opposite edge of the lacuna 8] . , two traces roughly in vertical alignment,
 lying in upper part of writing space and below line-level respectively . α, left-hand arc in upper part
 of writing space . . [, first, two diagonal strokes joining at mid-height, tiny trace in upper part of
 writing space in diagonal alignment descending from left to right with the right-hand diagonal stroke:
 possible λ or lower half of x; second, scanty remains of bottom arc?; third, two traces in diagonal
 alignment lying in upper part of writing space and at line-level respectively; further tiny trace to right
 of the lower trace previously mentioned 9 θ corrected *currente calamo*? 10] . , upper part
 of right-hand arc? . υ, left-hand and right-hand corners of triangular letter 11 . [, short thin
 horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space

Fr. 20

1] . . , first, bottom arc in lower part of writing space, bearing blurred horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm
 long; second, foot of upright protruding below line-level? . . [, first, tiny trace at line-level; second,
 very tiny trace at line-level 4] . , stroke approaching upright φ . , remains of left-hand arc
 5] . , blurred remains of triangular letter c . . , first, blurred traces rather confused: correction?;
 second, blurred traces of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right, whose upper part seems to

curve to left . [, upright protruding below line-level and curving to left 6] . , right-hand arc 7] . . , first, trace in upper part of writing space, possibly belonging to right hand extremity of crossbar; second, tip of upright? . [, very tiny trace in upper part of writing space

Fr. 19

5 *καστορ*[?

6 not *Ἀργείω*, unless the two parts of the fragments do not join so closely (Parsons), but cf. *κ* in the previous line, whose right-hand part lies in the right-hand part of the fragment and seems to join perfectly with the left-hand part; possibly *ρπειω*?

Fr. 20

Possible articulations: 4] *φονης*; 5] *δρος*.

Fr. 21 →

. .
] . [.
] *ων* . [.
] . *και* . [.
] . *τω* . [.
5] . *αχ* [.
] *το* [.

Fr. 22 →

. .
] *ς* . [.
] . *κα* . [.
] *ςπρ* . [.
] *αντο* [.
5] . [.] . *ων* [.
] . [.

Fr. 23 →

. .
] *δ* [.
μα . *θρ* [.
ετοσδ . [.
] . *κα* . [.

Fr. 21

1] . , thick trace at line-level . [, lower extremity of stroke slightly slightly slanting to right and descending below line-level 2] . [, left-hand arc 3] . , remains of upright? . [, traces in vertical alignment at edge; the lowest one could belong to left-hand arc 4] . , upper part of upright with tip curving to left or upper part of right-hand arc . [, remains of upright slanting to left and joining another stroke (not preserved) at mid-height, τ? 5] . , short vertical stroke in upper part of writing space

Fr. 22

1] . [, very small loop in upper part of writing space, part of τ? 2] . , upright whose upper extremity is linked to left to diagonal stroke ascending from left to right; below lower extremity of that diagonal, extremely tiny remains of left-hand arc? . [, remains of left-hand arc in ligature with descending diagonal of previous *α* 3] . [, small loop in upper part of writing space; short horizontal trace at mid-height: τ? 5] . , very tiny trace in upper part of writing space . [. , horizontal stroke, 2 cm long, in upper part of writing space, touching upper extremity of left-hand lobe of following *ω*, whose left-hand extremity is in vertical alignment with tiny trace lying at mid-height at edge 6] . [, very tiny trace in upper part of writing space

Fr. 23

2] . [, two extremely tiny traces in horizontal alignment with each other, 1 mm distant, lying in upper part of writing space *ρ* very close to preceding raised *θ*: added later? 3] . [, extremely short horizontal trace at line-level 4] . , remains of triangular letter . [, horizontal stroke at line-level with thicker right-hand extremity at edge

Fr. 22

- 3 πρ(ὀς).
5] . ω, τ?

Fr. 23

2 μα[λ]θ(ακ-). Possible (but rather speculative) articulation, as abbreviated form of the personal name *Μαλθάκη*, which occurs in this abbreviated form in X **1231** 3 and 5, from Menander's *Κικνώμιος* (CGFP no. 189, fr. 11 Sandbach), rather common in New Comedy (see Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander* 633-4); cf. fr. 4.5-6 n. on Menandrian *meretrices*. However, from the paleographical standpoint we have to assume that the λ falls *in lacuna*, and therefore to consider the two tiny traces described above as mere spots of ink; moreover, the ρ following the abbreviated form is attached to the superlinear θ, as the θ itself was added later after the ρ. Alternatively, the assumed raised θ and the following ρ may form a complex that fits a φ bearing a sign of abbreviation.

- 2, 3 Suggest line-beginnings.
4 μ instead of κ?

Fr. 24 →

. . .
] [
] . οιδεις [
] τ ε ε [
. . .

Fr. 25 →

. . .
] . . . ν . [
] ρ ο υ [
] ε ν δ [
] . . . [
. . .

Fr. 26 →

. . .
] ν τ [
] . υ ο ν . . [
] [
. . .

Fr. 24

1] . . . , first, extremely tiny trace at line level; second, lower part of stroke slightly slanting to right protruding below line-level; third, lower part of diagonal stroke protruding below line-level; 0.5 mm farther remains of diagonal stroke descending from left to right lying at line-level . . . [, very tiny trace at line level 2] . , remains of triangular letter, α or λ 3] τ ε ε, ε υ written by the same hand above this sequence in a slightly smaller size

Fr. 25

1] . . . , first, diagonal stroke descending from left to right and reaching lower extremity of upright; to left of this, in vertical alignment with left-hand extremity of diagonal, a very tiny trace at line-level; second, lower part of upright with rightwards hook; third, loop touching line-level . . . [, short stroke approaching horizontal at mid-height: ligature with previous letter? 4] . . , first, top of an oval; second, top of a round letter . . . [, very tiny trace above writing space

Fr. 26

2] . , horizontal stroke, 1 mm long, in upper part of writing space, touching tip of following 1 ν . , tiny dot in upper part of writing space, at first sight like a high stop, but in **5093** no other dots to mark pause are found . . . [, horizontal trace at mid-height, possibly extremity of crossbar 3] , first, extremely tiny trace in upper part of writing-space; second, tip of upright?; third, tip of upright?; fourth, tip of upright attached to left of short diagonal trace descending from left to right; fifth, blurred top of round letter attached to following letter . . . [, left-hand are?

Fr. 24

3 Likely a participle in the plural corrected into an indicative of the third person; but the sequence written above may represent a variant.

Fr. 27 →

Col. i

· · · · ·
] ·
] ερρ^ν
] ν
 · · · · ·

Col. ii

· · · · ·
 [·
 · [·
 [·
 · · · · ·

Fr. 28 →

· · · · ·
 > · · · · [·
 ενδ · [·
 · · · · · [·
 · · · · ·

Fr. 27 col. i

1] ·, lower part of upright protruding below line-level

Col. ii

2 · [, remains of left-hand arc?

Fr. 28

1 · · · · [, first, lower part of upright descending below line-level; second, lower part of upright descending below line-level; third, lower part of upright descending below line-level; fourth, bottom arc in lower part of writing space 2 · [, remains of left-hand arc 3 · · · · · [, first, upright touching not entirely preserved crossbar: τ?; second, diagonal ascending from left to right, touching right-hand extremity of crossbar of previous letter; third, thin horizontal trace, 1 mm long, in upper part of writing space; fourth, top arc touching to left tip of upright; fifth, upper part of upright protruding above writing space, whose tip is in horizontal alignment with tiny trace lying 1 mm further

Fr. 29 →

· · · · ·
] · · · · [·
] · μ ε [·
] ο λ [·
] δ ε ς [·
 5] · δ [·
] ς π [·
] · · [·
 · · · · ·

Fr. 30 →

· · · · ·
] · · [·
] · δ [·
] η τ η [·
] α π ε [·
 (foot)

Fr. 31 →

· · · · ·
] · α [·
] δ ε [·
] α · [·
] ν [·
 5] · χ [·
 · · · · ·

Fr. 29

1] · · ·, first, extremely tiny trace at line-level; second, bottom of loop at line-level; third, lower part of upright descending below line-level 2 · [, very tiny trace at line level 3] ·, very short vertical trace in upper part of writing space 4] ·, diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part of writing space 5] ·, thick trace in upper part of writing space 6] ·, thick trace at mid height, attached to previous letter, possibly belonging to upright 7] ·, extremely tiny trace above writing space 8] ·, trace above writing space, possibly tip of upright or diagonal

Fr. 30

1] . . , first, trace descending below line-level, possibly leftwards hook of upright; second, left-hand arc with tiny trace at mid-height: ϵ or θ 2] . , extremely tiny trace in upper part of writing space
 . [, left-hand arc

Fr. 31

1] . , short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space; tiny trace at line-level in vertical alignment with previous stroke . [, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right; at mid-height join with another stroke (not preserved) 2 . [, diagonal stroke ascending from left to right 3 α . , curve descending below line-level and approaching right-hand arc; above it some blurred trace; possibly η . [, thick vertical trace in upper part of writing space
 4 . [, remains of left-hand arc? 5] . , blurred diagonal stroke descending from left to right

Fr. 29

Possible articulation: 4 π]o λ v[-.

Fr. 32 →

. . .
] η ν . [.
] . o ν [.
] ν [.
 . . .

Fr. 33 →

col. i

. . .
] ϵ .
] .
] .
] . ξ
 5] .
] .
] α .
] ν .
 . . .

col. ii

. . .
 [.
 . . [.
 ν . [.
 o . [.
 5 α . [.
 κ . [.
 κ [.
 [.
 . . .

Fr. 32

1 . [, traces that may belong to central part of left-hand arc 2] . , upright slightly slanting to right

Fr. 33 col. i

2] . , part of diagonal stroke, descending from left to right, in lower part of writing space
 3] . , short vertical trace in upper part of writing space 4] . , blurred trace in lower part of writing space

Col. ii

1 above first preserved line in intercolumnium, rather faded and thin diagonal stroke, ascending from left to right, 2.5 mm long; critical sign or accidental stroke? 2 . . [, first, upright slightly slanting to right; on its left, in horizontal alignment with its tip, traces in horizontal alignment, probably left-hand part of crossbar: τ ?; second, short vertical trace in upper part of writing space
 3 . [, extremely tiny and faded trace at mid-height 4 . [, upright descending below line-level
 5 . [, part of upright? 6 . [, extremely tiny trace at mid-height at edge

Fr. 34 →

· ·
]τ··[
]τα[
]ννπ[
]ν[··].[
 5]··[
 · ·

Fr. 35 →

· ·
]···[
]ονρ[
]··[
 · ·

Fr. 36 →

· ·
]·ν·[
]·χϵ[
 · ·

Fr. 34

1]·, short vertical trace in upper part of writing space ··[, first, lower part of left-hand arc; second, trace at line-level 4]·, upper part of right-hand arc? 5]·, first, upper part of upright whose tip joins short horizontal stroke to right; second, two traces, very close to each other, in upper part of writing space

Fr. 35

1]···, first, lower part of upright; to right very close to it small trace; second, tiny trace at line-level; third, extremely tiny trace at line-level 3]·, first, remains of upper part of upright; to left, very close to it, tiny trace; second, tip of upright?

Fr. 36

1]·, right-hand arc ··[, two very tiny traces in vertical alignment between each other in upper part of writing space 2]·, two traces in vertical alignment, lying in upper part and in lower part of writing space respectively: possibly part of upright or extremities of left-hand arc

Fr. 36

Possible articulation: 1]ον, but]α with big loop not to be excluded

Fr. 37 →

· ·
]νκ[
]τρ·[
]·[
 · ·

Fr. 38 →

· ·
]τφ[
]το[
]··[
 · ·

Fr. 39 →

· ·
]·ον·[
]·τo⁺[
]·[
 · ·

Fr. 37

2]·, tip of diagonal stroke descending from left to right and protruding above writing space 3]·, very tiny trace probably belonging to stroke protruding above writing space

Fr. 38

3]··, first, trace approaching vertical protruding above writing space; second, top of round letter?

Fr. 39

1]·, upright whose tip joins left-hand crossbar: ρ or τ possible ··[, left-hand arc 2]·,

short diagonal stroke descending from left to right, protruding above writing space, with lower extremity in ligature with crossbar of following letter 3], two very tiny traces very close to each other and almost in vertical alignment in lower part of writing space

Fr. 37

Possible articulation: 2] τρ[γω(δία-) [; cf. fr. 45-2.

Fr. 39

Possible articulation: 2 κ]ατότ(ι) [without aspiration for καθότι? (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 134-5).

Fr. 40 →

· ·
]κα[
]·σει[
· ·

Fr. 41 →

· ·
]...[
]·χ[
]...[
· ·

Fr. 42 →

· ·
]φ[
]εφ[
]...[
· ·

Fr. 40

2], , two faded traces in vertical alignment, lying at line-level and in upper part of writing space respectively

Fr. 41

1]... , first, very tiny trace below line-level; second, two tiny traces very close to each other and close to right of lower part of upright protruding below line-level; third, very thin horizontal stroke, 2 mm long, in lower part of writing space 2], , short vertical trace in upper part of writing space [, remains of left-hand arc? 3]... , first, very tiny trace in upper part of writing space; second, top of round letter; third, upper part of upright, joining to right crossbar

Fr. 42

1] , lower half of upright 3]... , first, short horizontal trace in upper part of writing space touching to left prolongation of upright of φ of previous line; second, tip of upright?

Fr. 43 →

· ·
]·ω[
]·ψ[
· ·

Fr. 44 →

· ·
]·[
]η[
]·ε[
]·ε[
· ·

Fr. 45 →

· ·
]·οι[
]·ρ·χ^ω[
· ·

Fr. 43

1] , lower part of upright [, upright descending below line-level 2] , circle in upper part of writing space: head of ρ or ο

Fr. 44

1] , extremity of upright protruding below line-level 3] , right-hand half of triangular letter, α or Δ 4] , stroke 2 mm long approaching horizontal intersects upright and protrudes above writing space

Fr. 45

1] , remains of upright whose tip joins to left crossbar: τ or τ possible [, upright slightly slanting to right 2] , remains of crossbar touching following letter; join with missing stroke—probably upright—is visible at left-hand extremity of preserved part of crossbar ρ , top of triangular letter [, trace at mid-height

Fr. 43

Possible articulation: 2] $\rho\nu$ [or] $\rho\nu$ [.

Fr. 44

Possible articulation: 3] $\delta\epsilon\iota$ [or] $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ [.

Fr. 45

2] $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega(\delta\iota\alpha-)$. [; cf. fr. 37.2.

Fr. 46 →

. . .
] ω [
] ω [
. . .

Fr. 47 →

. . .
] . . [
] $\alpha\chi$ [
] . σ . [
] . . . [
. . .

Fr. 48 →

. . .
] . . [
] ω [
. . .

Fr. 49 →

. . .
] . [
] $\eta\tau$ [
] . . [
. . .

Fr. 47

1] . . , first, bottom of round letter; second, foot of upright 3] , short stroke approaching horizontal, 1 mm long, lying at line-level and touching following letter [, short diagonal trace descending from left to right in upper part of writing space, attached to upper extremity of previous c
4] . . . , first, lower part of diagonal descending from left to right; second, left-hand corner of triangular letter, α or Δ ; third, tip of upright

Fr. 48

1] . . [, foot of two uprights, 2 mm distant from each other

Fr. 49

1] . . , lower part of upright touching to right remains of stroke approaching horizontal, possibly κ 3] . . , upper part of two uprights, 2 mm distant from each other, possibly belonging to square letter

Fr. 50 →

· · ·
]..[
]κιψ[
]χ..[
 · · ·

Fr. 51 →

· · ·
]...[
]...[
]...[
]ωε[
 · · ·

Fr. 52 →

· · ·
]..[
]κ.[
]φ[
]..[
 5]..ο.[
 · · ·

Fr. 50

1].., foot of two uprights 2 mm distant from each other, possibly belonging to square letter
 3 χ.., first, upper part of upright protruding above writing space; second, tiny trace in upper part of writing space, 1 mm distant from previous letter

Fr. 52

1].., first, short horizontal stroke, 2 mm long, roughly at mid-height; second, upright descending below line-level 2], remains of left-hand arc 3], tiny trace in upper part of writing space
 4].., first, short stroke approaching horizontal joins upright at mid-height, very likely η; second, lower extremity of diagonal stroke 5], thin vertical trace below line-level], thick stroke approaching upright; left-hand arc also possible

Fr. 53 preserves traces of 7 lines: although no letter can be distinguished, ink and trace suggest the same hand.

The following fragments are written on both sides:

Fr. 1 bis

→

top
], αχ.[
]λυπηλα
]οτ'οιηλυπη
], υνου.[
 5], [...]θ.[
 · · ·

↓

top
], στατη.ρω.[
]βατω.θολε[
], [...]οι[...]ανε[
], [...]υ..[
 5], [...]υτ.αδ[
], εδια[
], [...]..[
 · · ·

→

1], horizontal stroke, 2 mm long, in upper part of writing space: part of crossbar?], thick rather blurred trace in upper part of writing space, in vertical alignment with tiny trace at mid-height 4], lower extremity of upright descending below line-level very close to tiny trace at mid-height], left-hand arc 5], diagonal stroke descending from left to right], upper half of upright θ, upper half of triangular letter; α or Δ], tip of upright, followed 0.5 mm further by tiny trace at mid-height

↓

1] , tiny trace in upper part of writing space η , lower half of two uprights belonging to square letter; possibly π [, short horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space, departing from upper extremity of right-hand lobe of preceding ω 2 ω , remains of left-hand arc or upright tick 3] , diagonal trace ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space ε [, sign in the form of a circumflex accent lying slightly above writing space and touching left upper extremity of arc of ε 4] . , first, remains of upright; second, shape of triangular letter, α or Δ] , remains of right-hand arc and trace at mid-height: possible o or ω (in the latter case the left-hand lobe of ω should fall *in lacuna*) ν , remains of upright as raised letter indicating abbreviation [, thick trace at line-level 5] , remains of traces in vertical alignment, probably belonging to upright protruding above writing space] . . , confused traces belonging to two or three letters; it is possible to distinguish two uprights descending below line-level and traces roughly in horizontal alignment in upper part of writing space: c1 or τ1 possible τ , short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity touches right-hand extremity of crossbar of preceding τ: sign of abbreviation or upper extremity of left-hand arc of ε? 6] , curve in upper part of writing space approaching diagonal stroke descending from left to right 7] . . , first, apex in upper part of writing space, possible top of triangular letter; second, rather narrow bottom arc touching previous traces [, upper part of round letter] , two tiny traces very close to each other lying in vertical alignment in upper part of writing space

→

Upper margin about 2 cm.

Possible articulations: 2 λύπη; 3 οἷη λύπη; 3-4 λύπη | . . . [βα]ρύνου[α; for the *iunctura* cf. D. L. 7.112.

↓

Upper margin 0.5 cm.

Possible articulations: 2]βατω[ς θολε[; 5 ἴδωντ(αι).

Fr. 2bis

→

. . .
] . ν . [
] ε ι ν . [
] ε ι τ . . . [
] α π [
 5] . κ ᾠ η [
] . υ κ . [
] . [
 . . .

↓

. . .
] . . . [
] . ο λ . [
] . ο σ . [
] ν λ ο . [
 5] . κ α . [
] . ο + [
] ω μ ν [
 . . .

Fr. 3bis

→

. . .
] . [
] . . η . [
] . π ρ τ α ξ ι [
] . ο υ . ς τ α ξ [
 5] [
 . . .
 . . .

↓

. . .
] ε ι . . . [
] . ν [
] . ω μ ᾠ ω σ [
] . κ τ ω [. . .] . ω [
 5] . [. . .] . . . [
 . . .
 . . .

Fr. 2bis →

1] , short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in lower part of writing space, touching upright of following Ν [, loop, possibly α 2 [, left-hand arc 3 τ , foot of upright? [, bottom of round letter, θ or ο 5 [, upright, on its left, very close to it, two

extremely tiny traces in slightly diagonal alignment ascending from left to right at mid-height and in upper part of writing space respectively; above the upright tiny trace 6], curve approaching left-hand arc lying in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity touches left-hand oblique of following Υ; oddly shaped o not to be ruled out], upright protruding above line-level and ending with leftwards tiny hook 7], extremely tiny and faded trace protruding above writing space, possibly mere stain

↓

1], two traces at line-level, 3 mm distant from each other: possibly feet of two uprights belonging to square letter 2], trace at line level], stroke approaching vertical, departing from lower extremity of right-hand diagonal of previous letter and lying in lower part of writing space: left-hand arc not to be excluded 3], short horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space, possibly right-hand extremity of crossbar touching following letter], remains of loop, possibly α 4], short vertical stroke in lower part of writing space, possibly part of upright 5], thin short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part of writing space and touching following letter at mid-height], upper half of left-hand arc 6], extremities of left-hand arc?

Fr. 3 bis →

1], extremely tiny trace at line level 2], first, very short horizontal trace at mid-height; second, curve approaching upper half of upright and slightly slanting to left], remains of upright? 3], scanty remains of lower extremity of upright descending below line-level 4], upright slightly slanting to right and joining to left remains of crossbar v], tiny vertical trace, 1 mm long, in upper part of writing space 5], first, central part of right-hand arc?; second, vertical stroke 3 mm long slightly slanting to left, protruding above writing space and touching line-level of preceding line; third, left-hand arc; fourth, upper part of upright protruding below writing space; fifth, upper part of left-hand arc embracing small trace at mid-height; sixth, short diagonal trace ascending from left to right above writing space

↓

1 . .], first, lower part of upright descending below line-level and ending with leftwards blob; second, two traces in vertical alignment, very close to previous letter, lying in upper part of writing space and below line-level respectively 2], stroke approaching horizontal, 2 mm long, at mid-height . .], first, very tiny trace above line-level, probably foot of upright; second, diagonal stroke, 1.5 mm long, descending from left to right and departing at mid-height; third, part of two diagonals ascending from left to right and descending from left to right respectively, suggest lower half of x 3], upright whose tip joins to left short horizontal stroke 4], tip of upright? . ω], two tiny and faded traces, 0.5 mm distant from each other, one lying in upper part of writing space, the other at mid-height and very close to following letter 5], faded tiny trace in upper part of writing space] . ., first, short horizontal trace in upper part of writing space; second, tip of upright?

Fr. 2bis ↓

Possible articulations: 2 ó λό[γος; 4 τὸ]ν λόγ[ον or τοῦτο]ν λόγ[ον; 6 ὄτ(ι); 7]ωμν[; form of ὄμνυμι?

Fr. 3 bis →

Possible articulations: 3 πρ(ὸς) τάξι[ν; 4 a form of τάξις, cf. fr. 1+2 → ii 9, 11, and fr. 4.13.

Fr. 4bis

→

· ·
]ξ. . []ηλ []δοντ. []νει ωσ. []εθoσμ []θoν. [

5

↓

· ·
].. []κξ. []εη. . . [].. [.] . αν [

5

Fr. 5bis

→

· ·
]πιλο. []τω. . []ολο. []τη. []ξ [].. [

5

↓

· ·
]τοσ. []αθoσ [].. ας [].. [].. [

5

Fr. 4bis →

1 ξ. , left-hand arc? . [, two very tiny traces, 1 mm distant from each other, in diagonal alignment from left to right very close to previous letter; the second one protrudes below line-level 3 . [, very tiny trace slightly below line-level 4] . , diagonal trace descending from left to right in upper part of writing space; 0.5 mm further, remains of stroke approaching vertical in lower part of writing space . [, lower half of left-hand arc? 5] . , upright whose tip joins to left short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right 6 . [, only a join departing from centre of right-hand upright of previous η is preserved

↓

1] . , blurred trace in upper part of writing space . [, lower part of upright 2] . , wide curve with arc facing upper part of writing space . [, crossbar 3 . [, blurred and thick horizontal stroke ascending from left to right, departing from mid-height and protruding above writing space 4 η . , upper part of upright protruding above writing space and slightly curving to right . [, first, two short parallel horizontal strokes, 0.5 mm distant from each other, lying in upper part of writing space; second, trace in upper part of writing space, possibly part of top arc; roughly in vertical alignment with it, thick trace below line-level 5] . , upper part of upright protruding above writing space . [, tiny trace protruding above writing space . α , small bottom arc in upper part of writing space

Fr. 5bis →

1] . , two tiny traces in vertical alignment lying in upper and lower part of writing space respectively . [, tiny trace at mid-height 2] . , tiny trace slightly protruding above writing space ω . . , first, lower part of upright; second, tiny trace at line-level 3] . , upright whose tip joins to right horizontal stroke touching following letter . ο , upper half of right-hand arc . [, 1.5-mm-long stroke approaching vertical in upper part of writing space touching previous ο 4 . [, tip of upright? 6] . , very tiny trace at mid-height . [, stroke approaching upright with tip curving leftwards joins to right at mid-height another stroke (not preserved); η possible

↓

1 . [, remains of upright with lower extremity curving leftwards 2] . , short thin vertical trace in lower part of writing space 3] . . , space available for two letters: 4-mm-long crossbar touches upper extremity of loop of following α and joins in its centre 4] . . , crossbar whose right-hand extremity joins upper extremity of right-hand arc: τo possible . [, blurred upright joining at mid-height another stroke (not preserved); η possible 5] . , remains of two diagonals

intersecting each other; λ possible . [, trace in upper part of writing space suggesting apex of triangular letter 6] , right-hand arc belonging to raised letter indicating abbreviation? . [, blurred trace in upper part of writing space

Fr. 4bis →

Possible articulations: 3 ἰδόντ(εε); 5] πένθοε.

Fr. 5bis →

Possible articulations: 1] ἐπιλογ[-, cf. fr. 1+2 → col. ii 17, fr. 4.18; 3] το δ λόγ[οε, cf. fr. 2bis ↓ 2, 4.

↓

Possible articulation: 2 ἀ]γαθός [or πάθος [.

Fr. 6bis

→

. . .
] π . . π . [.
] . . . μ ε ν [.
] . π ο λ η . [.
] ω ς η . [.
 5] . . ε [.

↓

. . .
] . σ φ ω [.
] . . α υ λ ο υ [.
] . ε ι σ μ [.
] . α [.
 5] . . [.

Fr. 7bis

→

. . .
] . υ κ [.
] . η κ ε [.
] . ς τ ι ε . [.
] . ν α . [.
 5] . α ι ν . [.
] . ω κ [.
] . κ . . [.
] ζ ο ε [.
] ν κ [.
 10] μ ι . [.
] . λ ο . [.
] . χ [.
 . . .

↓

. . .
] π τ . . [.
] . ε ι ο [.
] α π ο ι . [.
 ?foot

Fr. 6bis →

1 π . . , first, lower part of diagonal ascending from left to right and departing from right-hand foot of upright of previous letter; second, lower part of upright descending below line-level . [, upright descending below line-level 2] . . , first, tiny trace in lower part of writing space; second, short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in lower part of writing space, very close to trace at mid-height: ε? . μ, upright 3] . , diagonal stroke descending from left to right, rather curvilinear, in ligature with following letter . [, stroke approaching diagonal descending from left to right, possibly part of left-hand arc 4] . [, upper half of left-hand arc; in vertical alignment with its upper extremity, short horizontal trace 0.5 mm distant 5] . , trace at mid-height . ε, top of round letter bearing extra ink (possibly belonging to upright of previous line descending below writing space)

↓

1] . , short horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space, touching following letter 2] . , two traces, very close to each other, in vertical alignment in upper part of writing space . α, upper

part of upright with leftwards blob 4], upright joining at mid-height to left another stroke (not preserved) 5], extremely tiny trace in upper part of writing space .[, tip of upright slightly slanting to right?

Fr. 7bis →

1], remains of bottom of round letter, θ or \circ 2], tiny trace in upper part of writing space 3], thin short vertical at mid-height, probably part of upright .[, thin vertical trace in upper part of writing space 4], tiny curve approaching diagonal stroke ascending from left to right and protruding below line-level, possibly η .[, remains of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right; from its tip short horizontal stroke goes down: possibly remains of λ 5], join with left-hand extremity of loop of following letter at mid-height .[, remains of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right 6], upright slightly slanting to right 7], horizontal stroke, 3 mm long, lying at mid-height and touching following letter κ .[, scanty remains of left-hand arc .[, left-hand arc 10], part of narrow loop in lower part of writing space, probably λ 11], upper half of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right .[, lower half of upright 12], short horizontal stroke, 2 mm long, in upper part of writing space, touching following letter

↓

1 τ ., tiny trace at line-level; possibly foot of upright .[, tiny trace at line-level, possibly foot of upright 2], blurred and confused traces suggest correction 3], upright very close to previous letter, with upper extremity slightly curving to right so that π is not to be ruled out

Fr. 7bis ↓

3.3 cm blank below written area.

Fr. 8bis

→

.
] . v^c
] . ρo
] ηc
] c
.

↓

.
] .
 δ .
 $\rho \alpha$ [
 a .
.

Fr. 9bis

→

.
] .
] . $\lambda o i$
] $\nu \tau \eta$
]
5] ξa
].
.

↓

.
] . . .
] μi .
] $\xi o u \kappa a \nu \lambda$ [
] $\tau o \theta e$ [
5] $\zeta e \tau o$ [
] $a e i c \tau$.
] . .
.

Fr. 8bis →

1], tiny vertical trace at mid-height, attached to thin horizontal stroke touching lower half of upright: possibly ν . v , blurred loop or circle, λ or \circ 2], blurred trace in upper part of writing space, touching following letter, in vertical alignment with tiny trace protruding above writing space

↓

1], vertical trace at line-level, possibly foot of upright 2], large loop bearing stroke approaching vertical, possibly λ 4], remaining traces may shape either left-hand arc or curve suiting π

Fr. 9bis →

1] , very tiny trace at line-level 2] , diagonal stroke descending from left to right, whose upper extremity approaches upright: cursive ε? 6] , upper extremity of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right

↓

1] , foot of upright .] , first, foot of upright; second, tiny trace at line-level 2 ι , upright joining another stroke (not preserved) at mid-height, possibly κ (before it short vertical trace in lower part of writing space visible, but clearly accidental) .] , two thick traces very close to each other in horizontal alignment lying in lower part of writing space and very close to foot of upright
6] , remains of upright? 7] , extremity of diagonal stroke ascending from left to right and protruding above writing space .] , extremely tiny trace in upper part of writing space, protruding above writing space

Fr. 9bis ↓

3 Compare the cursivity of the sequence αν to fr. 1+2 → iv 16, and see 16–22 n.

Fr. 10bis

→

↓

top?
] ι α ν ο μ . . .]
] χ ε θ η [. . .]
.
.
.

. . . ω . α []
] ω δ η ν η ^c
] ε . ε ν
] . [.] . []
.
.
.

Fr. 11bis

→

↓

. . .
] . [] . []
] τ α . . [] . ν . []
] α ν . [] ο λ . []
] . ε []
.
.
.

Fr. 10bis →

1 μ , remains of left-hand arc or loop? .] , first, trace below line-level; second, trace protruding above writing space 2 ε corrected *currente calamo* from previous η] , vertical trace in upper part of writing space .] , short thin slightly diagonal trace, ascending from left to right, protruding above writing space

↓

1] , , first, remains of left-hand arc? second, foot of upright slightly descending below line-level ω , upright whose tip joins to right remains of stroke approaching horizontal 3 ε , top of round letter, θ or ο 4] , tiny trace in upper part of writing space .] , upper half of small left-hand arc attached to upright protruding above writing space: φ?

Fr. 11bis →

1] , , foot of upright descending below line-level 2 α , upright slightly slanting to right .] , very short vertical trace at mid-height 3 .] , confused traces roughly in vertical alignment in upper and lower part of writing space 4] , , tip of triangular letter

↓

1] , , bottom of round letter, θ or ο 2] , , upper half of upright .] , short vertical trace in upper part of writing space 3 .] , wide curve approaching diagonal stroke ascending from left to right

Fr. 10bis →

8 mm blank above written area.

1 *ἰαύομαι*. The verb is poetic: quotation?2 A form of the aorist passive from *ἔχω* or a compound of this verb, i.e. *-c]χ^εθη[-*.

↓

Possible articulation: 2] *ὠδῆν* or *ἐπ]ωδῆν*.

Fr. 12bis

→

. . .
].[
].βλ_ε[
].νε.[
].[
 . . .

↓

. . .
]π. .[
].ι_ε.[
]. . .[
 . . .

Fr. 13bis

→

. . .
]. . .[
 top?
].*ce*ω[
].*c*υ[
].[
 . . .

↓

. . .
].*ie*υ[
].*φελ*[
].*κ^ωο*.[
].*ou*υ[
 5].*ωι κ*[
]. .[
 . . .

Fr. 12bis →

1]., curve approaching right-hand arc part of writing space touching following letter followed, 0.5 mm further, by other tiny trace touching following letter at mid-height of left-hand arc?

4]., top of round letter very close to *κ* of previous line, probably belonging to raised letter indicating abbreviation

↓

1 π., extremely tiny trace at line-level very close to following trace .[, foot of upright?
 2]., curve possibly shaping left-hand side of π .[, upright
 3]., first, curve approaching upper part of left-hand arc; second, two diagonals lying in upper part of writing space, one descending from left to right, the other ascending from left to right, joining at mid-height: upper half of *κ*? But *κ* is not to be ruled out .[, extremely tiny trace at mid-height

Fr. 13bis →

1]., stroke consisting of upright ending in rightwards curve: right-hand half of *γ* or cursive *c* possible
 2]., diagonal stroke, 2 mm long, ascending from left to right and lying in upper part of writing space, touches centre of other diagonal stroke descending from left to right in ligature with following *c*
 3]., horizontal stroke, 3.5 mm long, in upper part of writing space

↓

1]., remains of small right-hand arc in upper part of writing space
 2]., left-hand arc
 3]., lower extremity of diagonal ascending from left to right
 6]., first, short and faded horizontal trace in upper part of writing space; second, extremely tiny and faded traces in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space: the complex of the two groups of traces may belong to *γ*

Fr. 13bis →

1.8 cm blank above written area.

↓

Possible articulation: 2] $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda$ [-, aoristic form from $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega$ or $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$.

Fr. 14bis

→

. .
] . [.
] κ [.
] . . η δ . [.
] . ' . [.
 5] υ [.

↓

. .
] . ο [.
] . . . α φ . [.
] λ ω [.
] . ι . [.
 5] . [.

Fr. 15bis

→

. .
] . . [.
] . . . α ι [.
] $\epsilon\pi$ [. .] . [.
 top?
] . α ε ι ε ι . [.
 5] . α π [.
] . [.

↓

Fr. 14bis →

1] . , lower half of upright descending below line-level joining to right another stroke (not preserved): η ? 3] . , remains of crossbar? . η, first, tip of upright; second, top of round letter; above to right short diagonal stroke ascending from left to right and lying above writing space, probably sign of abbreviation . [, tiny trace in upper part of writing space 4] . , diagonal stroke, 2 mm long, descending from left to right, lying in upper part of writing space, whose lower extremity joins stroke approaching horizontal, 2 mm long; the complex bears diagonal stroke descending from left to right and lying above writing space: κ very likely . [, left-hand arc

↓

1] . , tiny trace at line-level 2] . , right-hand arc . . α, first, upright; second, tiny trace at line-level at edge of lacuna . [, short vertical trace departing from mid-height 4] . , upright whose tip joins to right horizontal stroke . [, 3-mm diagonal stroke slightly slanting to right in lower part of writing space; above it small curve approaching left-hand arc] . , tiny trace in upper part of writing space

Fr. 15bis →

1] . , top of rather narrow round letter . [, upright slightly slanting to right, joining to right at mid-height another stroke (not preserved) 2] . , remains of circle

↓

1] . , diagonal stroke ascending from left to right protruding below line level . [, upright descending below line-level 2] . . , first, two traces almost in vertical alignment, lying respectively in upper part of writing space and at mid-height; second and third consist of curve shaping very cursive λ with extremely narrow loop or λ , whose right-hand diagonal is in ligature at mid-height with another letter, probably ι , almost completely faded 3] . [, vertical trace at mid-height, very close on right to another small trace 4] . , remains of upright? . π, lower half of upright . [, extremely tiny trace at line-level 5] . , remains of two diagonals lying in upper part of writing space, descending from left to right and ascending from left to right respectively and joining at mid-height: χ ? 6] . , tiny trace in upper part of writing space

Fr. 15bis →

1.8 cm blank above written area.

Fr. 16bis

→

· · ·
]...[
]π...[
]ελιττ.[
]\`α.[
 · · ·

↓

· · ·
]...[
]ωιλυ.[
]αε...[
 · · ·

Fr. 17bis

→

· · ·
]...[
]αρ.[
]..[
 · · ·

↓

· · ·
]..[
]πρ.[
]..[
 · · ·

Fr. 16bis →

1] , extremity of diagonal ascending from left to right in upper part of writing space . . . [, first, top of round letter; second, three extremely tiny traces in vertical alignment lying in upper part of writing space 2 π . . , first, short diagonal trace ascending from left to right at mid-height; second, bottom of round letter . . . [, first, remains of round letter, ϑ or ο; second, trace slightly below line-level 3 . [, two traces in vertical alignment that may belong to raised letter representing abbreviation 4] , trace in upper part of writing space, very close to diagonal stroke ascending from left to right, departing from mid-height and bearing sign of abbreviation consisting of diagonal stroke descending from right to left and lying above writing space: very likely κ' . [, trace in upper part of writing space

↓

1] , trace in lower part of writing space] , scanty traces at the two opposite edges of lacuna suggest upright . [, upright whose lower extremity ends in leftwards wide curve 2 . [, trace at line-level 3] , very short diagonal stroke descending from left to right in upper part of writing space, attached to left-hand extremity of loop of following λ ε . . , first, rather thick vertical trace in lower part of writing space, possibly belonging to upright; second, tip of round letter? . [, scanty faded traces suggest shape of left-hand arc

Fr. 17bis →

1] , tiny trace below line-level . . . [, first, two traces in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right, lying at line-level and below line level respectively; second, trace at line-level 2] , right-hand part of crossbar in vertical alignment with trace at line-level . [, upright 3] , tiny trace in upper part of writing space, possibly tip of upright . [, thick trace in upper part of writing space, possibly tip of upright

↓

1] , lower part of triangular letter, α or λ . [, thick trace at line-level 2 . [, left-hand arc 3] , very tiny trace in upper part of writing space, possibly tip of upright

Fr. 16bis →

Possible articulations: 3 form of the verb ἐλιττω or a compound of it; 4 κ(αι).

D. COLOMO

5094. MYTHOGRAPHY

17 2B.57/C(a) and H(a)

fr. 1 10.2 × 3 cm

Late second / early third century
Plate XI

Five fragments from a papyrus roll, of which fr. 1 is the largest, containing across the fibres Greek prose writing mentioning the lost Cyclic poem *Κύπρια* and the grammarian Demetrius of Skepsis. The back is blank. A lower margin of 1.3 cm, 1.5 cm, and 2 cm is preserved in fr. 1, 2, and 3 respectively, and an upper margin in fr. 4.

The script is an upright Formal Round hand sometimes associated with the 'biblical uncial'. Standard characteristics are φ of elliptical shape with sharp angles, γ and ρ always protruding below the baseline. This hand is easily recognizable in less refined cases from Oxyrhynchus from the middle of the second century; cf. XXXII **2633**, lyric poetry (the date assigned by Lobel has recently been confirmed by P. Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica*, 96f., which updates information for the manuscripts listed in G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, 34). Ours shows a more firm and regular writing than the earliest specimens, and is comparable to XXVIII **2491** (Hesiod, *Catalogue*, late second century according to Lobel, early third to Cavallo) or LX **4016** (Euripides, *Orestes*, late second, possibly first half of third century according to Haslam and Orsini), although written smaller than these; features like ω with unflattened lobes and γ with varying shape, point to a not yet 'canonical' exemplar (or alternatively, as P. J. Parsons, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 378, argued, to an 'ineptly executed canonical one'; cf. *GMAW*² 22); cf. P. Berol. 7499 (Schubart, *Paläographie*, Abb. 93), PSI IX 1086 = *Scrivere libri e documenti* no. 39.

Lectional signs and sigla are probably all by the same hand. Acute accent in fr. 3. 2, apostrophe in 1. 1, 1. 4, and 1.9, high point in 3. 3. The scribe is inconsistent in the treatment of elision (cf. fr. 1. 1, 1. 4 with 1. 9). In fr. 1 a wedge-shaped sign is placed inside the line, 1.3 cm far from the bottom margin. Possibly a paragraphus in fr. 1. 3–4 is used to mark a new section of the prose text. Guessing the exact line-length is difficult: according to Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 101, the 'normative range' in prose texts from Oxyrhynchus is 4.3 to 7.5 cm. In fr. 1.8, 13 letters occupy 5.1 cm, i.e. 1 cm = 2.5 letters. Therefore in this hand the range would be 11–19 letters.

Fr. 1 deals with the genealogy of someone connected with Dymas (see 8), who could be identified with the Phaeacian seafarer mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 6.22, for l. 8 appears to be compatible with that hexameter. It is also possible that l. 7 refers to his daughter, whom Athena resembles in order to speak to Nausicaa in the same passage. Then at 9 the *Cypria* is cited before the text breaks off. Perhaps less likely, the identification of the Dymas in question could alternatively be with Hekabe's father or with Aegimius' son (see 8). The second is mentioned three times in the Latin

version of Dictys' *Bellum Troianum* (I 9, II 35, IV 12) and once in the Dictys papyrus found in Tebtunis (P. Tebt. II 268, col. ii 57, early third century). No passages from the Greek original or the Latin adaptation seem to match our text, but the names of Ἀμφίμα]χον and Νάστ[ης, which occur along with that of Δύμας in P. Tebt. II 268, col. ii 58, might be restored in fr. 1. 5 and 2. 4.

If the suggested supplement in l. 4 Δημήτ]ριος δ' ὁ Κκ[ήψιος is right, the verb φησι in l. 5 probably introduced a quotation. Many citations from him occur, not in scholia or compendia (which might not be copied in such a calligraphic hand as this), but in continuous prose works such as Athenaeus' or Strabo's. He was much used by Apollodorus of Athens in his *Περὶ νεῶν καταλόγου* (see F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* IID, 775 ff.; cf. Lasserre, *ad* Strab. 10.2.16). A passage from Apollodorus' catalogue is actually about the region of Δύμη in Achaia; see *FGrHist* 244 FF 190–91 καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἢ ὁ τὰ τούτου ἐπιτεμνόμενος: “τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔχουσι Δυμαῖοι”; F 320, a (spurious? but see Müller's FGH 114) excerpt taken from the *Periegesis*, mentions a Thracian city called Νάστος; cf. fr. 3. 4. .ροσεναστ[.

Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* show that Demetrius' work contained all sorts of information, rather peripheral to the simple exposition of ships and heroes (gastronomy, local history, paintings, and so on), so our fragments do not necessarily need to be concerned primarily with the Greek or the Trojan army. Demetrius' fr. 32 Gaede contains allusion to events prior to the Trojan war. 9 ὁ τὰ Κύπρια α[refers to a passage from that Cyclic poem.

Some mythological compendia consisted chiefly of lists or summaries, but they could contain literary quotations, e.g. LXII **4306** (first/second century) = M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* no. 69 and p. 156: see in particular fr. 1 col. i 17, col. ii 8 ff. Occasionally, they could be written, as in this case, in calligraphic style, cf. P. Ryl. I 22 + P. Yale II 110v (Oxyrhynchus, first century). The presence of possible quotations and the occurrence of a relatively rare mythological(?) personal name suggest a scholarly background, as in XIII **1611** (extracts from a work on literary criticism, early third century), rather than an educational context. No sufficient evidence allows us to think of a commentary on a specific poetic text, cf. XXVII **2463** = *CPP* 52 (genealogy of Poimandrus with quotation from Rhianus and Aristophanes of Thebes, second/third century).

Dr Perale has been responsible for the introduction and fr. 1–3, Dr Henry for fr. 4–5.

Fr. 1

	]. ἡ βασιλε[	] δ' ἡ βασιλε[
	] ηρανδρο.[	] ηρανδρο.[
	] ο[. . . .] φασι χρυς[	] ο[. . . .] φασι χρυς[
	] δ[. . . .] ριος δ' οσκ.[	] Δη[μήτ]ριος δ' ὁ Cκή[ψιος
5	] κ[. . . .] χον φησι.[	] κ[. . . .] χον φησι.[
	] τουτ[.] φερεσθα[	] τούτ[ω]ν φέρεσθα[ι
	] μ. μ[.] νηθυγα.[	] μ. μ[.] νη θυγα. [--- ναυσι-
	] κλειτοιοδυμαν.[	] κλειτοῖ ὁ Δυμάν[τος
	] ωσδ. τακυπριαα[	] ὡς δ' ὁ τὰ Κύπρια α[
10	] . . . ε. . . [.] > .[	] . . . εἰ. . . [.] > .[

Fr. 2

] . .] . .
	] . . . εσβυτερ. . .[	] . πρεσβυτερ. . .[
	] . [ . . ] . . οσω[	] . [ . . ] . . οσω[
	] . . ροσεναστ[	] . . ροσεναστ[
5] . . [] . . [

Fr. 3

] . . ε[
] τέ.[
] η·α[

Fr. 4

] . . α. [.] . σδακ[
] φυλονομηγ[
] . ικ . . . αλκιμ[
] . ετιγναυπακ[
5 . . .] αλκιμεδ[
] . . .] ευρυκαθ[
] . . [.] αμαπαιδ
]] . ποσα . [.
]] . οφι . [.
10] μιοσῖ . [.
]] . ciχορ[.
]] [.
]] . απ . [.
]] . ελφ[.
15] . [.

Fr. 5

] . . [.
] . . [.
] αθη[
] . οπ[
5] . κ . [.
] κ . [.
] . μ[.

Fr. 1

1] . , level with the tops of the letters, the upper right-hand arc of a circle, perhaps a mark of elision, and on the line, abraded traces of a cross-stroke ϵ [the left-hand parts 2] . , faint traces of a cross-stroke high in the line above η , a slightly concave upright followed by the top of a loop [a thin trace suggesting the foot of an upright 4 κ [a dot at line level 5 ι [lower part of an upright 7] . , specks on the line of the letter preceding ν a [beginning of horizontal at top line 8 [the left-hand end of a cross-stroke at letter-top level; above, traces of an oblique descending steeply from left to right 9 δ , traces suiting the apex and part of the base , top and left-hand arc of a circle 10] . , small diagonal stroke at top line descending from right to left, a dot at baseline in vertical alignment with the beginning of the top stroke [the beginning of two diagonal strokes, apparently converging at mid-height: another space-filler-like sign or the lower left corner of λ , Δ ?

Fr. 2

1] . . . , first two, indistinct traces; third, remains of two splayed legs at base-line with an apex at top line as of λ Δ Δ 2] . . . , first, slightly curved small stroke at mid-height; second, remains of two uprights 3 mm apart; third, small trace of an upright with narrow horizontal mark departing at mid-height ρ . . [above ρ , 1 mm farther on, indistinct traces suggesting lower arc of circle and apex 3] . , horizontal trace at top line or top of circle [. . , two isolated traces on a loose fibre on the line; a third, with above it a cross-stroke at letter-top level [a speck at letter-top level on the edge of the upper layer 4] . . , first, on loose fibres, traces suggesting an upright, with perhaps a cross-stroke high in the line and a stroke joining the upright from the left 5] . . , the upper left-hand arc of a circle and further specks; second, a trace high in the line, and above and just to the right, an upright and a trace like the upper part of the loop of ρ

Fr. 3

1] . . ϵ , first, trace on the line; second, foot of diagonal inclining to upper-right, Δ suggested; third, bottom of circle, end of a horizontal at mid-level 2 [upright with speck at mid-level to right, the accent placed as for a diphthong, but perhaps rather a mark of punctuation 3] . , τ , the upright only vestigially represented on the edge, but apparently not π

Fr. 4

1] . . , a stroke on the line, perhaps a tail, touching the shank of a letter descending below the line λ rather than λ , though the base of the loop is only vestigially represented and may be illusion [an upright sloping forward slightly followed by a speck at mid-line level [. . , the lower right-hand arc of a circle 2 In the interlinear space above ϕ , a cross-stroke 3] . , a speck on the line . . . , the first oblique and apex of a triangular letter; the top of a stroke descending from left to right, perhaps the second oblique of another triangular letter; the top of an upright and specks suggesting the left-hand part and end of a cross-stroke at letter-top level; a further trace on the line just before a may be stray ink 4] ϵ , or θ , abraded on the right τ , traces of an upright and of a crossbar at letter-top level ν , the top of the second upright and a speck in place for the top of the first 5 of λ , the tail 6 $\epsilon\nu$, between which falls the gap between two fragments now joined, generously spaced but not I think impossibly so $\kappa\alpha\theta$ made out of $\alpha\nu$ 7] . [a high cross-bar followed by a low trace 8] . , at mid-line height, a trace of an upright or the right-hand arc of a circle on the edge [a stroke level with the tops of the letters, abraded on the right 9] . , a speck at mid-line height [the left-hand arc of a circle 10 [a speck on the line 13-15 The final traces are on a loose and twisted strip but are I think correctly placed as shown 13 [the shank of a letter descending below the line 15] [parts of a round letter

Fr. 5

1–2 abraded traces 3 ρ, or λ, the tail and a speck of the apex θ, the left-hand part of the cross-bar with the lower right-hand arc of a circle and traces in place for the left-hand arc touching the cross-bar η, an upright and the left-hand end of a cross-bar or oblique at mid-line level: κ not ruled out 4],, a speck level with the tops of the letters 5],, an upright, perhaps joined at the foot by an oblique descending from the left, but this may be an illusion],, the first oblique and apex of a triangular letter 6 κ, traces suggesting the arms],, a trace at letter-top level 7],, the cap and base of c or e

Fr. 1

1]δ' η βασιλε[. One may guess βασιλε[ία, 'kingdom' or βασιλε]ια, 'queen'. If 'queen', Hekabe? 2], ηρανδρο. There are no likely single words suiting the traces. The separation of words suggests θυγά]τηρ vel πα]τήρ Άνδρο[, e.g. Άνδρό[γεω (Lobel). If a genealogical reference, it might be possibly paired with another one in ll. 7–8 (see 8 n.).

3 χρυσ[. The city of Χρύση was possibly mentioned in Demetrius of Skepsis' *Peri Troikou Diakosmou* (cf. l. 4); see fr. 37 Gaede. But this name, which is placed before the sentence break (see δέ in l. 4) and Demetrius' name, is actually introduced by φασι.

4 Δημήτ]ριος δ' ό Κκή]ψιος. Probably also in P. Schub. 21.23 = M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?*, no. 54 and p. 300 (*Mythographus Homericus*, fifth century AD). The name of the grammarian of the second century BC would offer a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the compendium. According to the supposed 'normative range' of the column (see above), there would not be enough space for e.g. ἐν δευτέρωι Τρωικου Διακόμου.

5]χον. Possibly a proper name, perhaps another authority, e.g. Κ[λέαρ]χον (of Soloi: F. Wehrli, ed., *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, iii), or a mythological character like Άντίμα]χον, mentioned along with Dymas by Dictys in P. Tebt. II 268; see col. ii 55 ff. *κυναφάντων δ' άλλήλοις παρα/δους Αίας τοίς περι τον Δ[ι]ομήδη φυλάσσ(ε)ιν τον νεκρ[όν] / βάλλει πρώτον Άσιον Δυμάντος Έκάβης αδελφόν. με/τὰ δε τοῦτο Νάστην και Αμφίμαχον, Καρών ηγεμόνας; or another authority like Άρίσταρ]χον, apparently mentioned by Demetrius fr. 58 Gaede (see *schol. in Hom. Il.* 11.757a); *Λυτίμα]χον*, who wrote about genealogies, cf. *schol. in Ibyc. PMGF* S151.37 and E. Cingano, *ZPE* 79 (1989), 27–9; *Καλλίμα]χον* and many others.*

7 θυγα.]. Probably the daughter of the Phaeacian Dymas, mentioned in *Hom. Od.* 6.22, is recommended by the identification of its quotation in 7–8, less likely Nausicaa, who is called *θυγάγηρ μεγαλήτορος Αλκινόοιο* in the same passage, v. 17, or Hekabe, daughter of Dymas, or a nymph connected to the Dymanes tribe: sacrifices to nymphs of the Dymanes are attested from the island of Thera (*IG XII 3, 377.1–2*, but *νύμφαι* is restored) and the Hellenistic Kos (Paton and Hicks no. 44, third century BC.; cf. also no. 45), see J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* 188, 205.

8 ναυσι]κλειτοῦ Δύμαν[τος. A quotation of *Hom. Od.* 6.22, mentioning the Phaeacian seafarer Dymas.

9 ό τὰ Κύπτια sc. ποιήσας, by a familiar idiom, cf. fr. 20, 30 West.

10], >]. The occurrence of the > sign preceding the bottom margin possibly marked the end of a section of the text. Single wedge-shaped fillers are commonly used in school exercises (R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 78) and in exegetical (*GMAW*², 5 and no. 44) and literary texts (R. Barbis Lupi, *Proc. XIXth. Int. Congr. Pap.* (1992), i 503–10; T. Di Matteo, *Proc. 24th Int. Congr. Pap.* (2007), i 259–65). A single decorative wedge sign is placed between the name of the author and the title of a prose work in XLVII 3318 = M. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, P8 (Hermarchus, *In Empedoclem IX*, first or second century). A series of wedge-shaped fillers placed between the text and the ending title is found in VIII 1096 = *CPF* I.2, Isocrates, no. 95 (*Panegyricus*, fourth century), and after the ending title in P. Mass. Col. xvi = *CPF* I.2 no. 17 = *Il titolo iniziale* P35 (Isocrates,

Ad Nicoclem, early fourth century; see G. Messeri, in *Papiri Filosofici: Miscellanea di Studi* v. 55; cf. K. A. Worp, A. Rijksbaron, *The Kellis Isocrates Codex* 87 with pl. 3v).

Fr. 3

4] . . ροεναστ[. Prof. Parsons suggests Ἀλέξα]νδρος ἐν ἄστ[ει, but other possibilities are likely:] . . ροε Νάστ[ης (the name of Nastes, commander of the Carians in Hom. *Il.* 2.867, occurs along with the names of Dymas and Antimachus in the passage from Dictys quoted above, cf. also Hom *Il.* 2.870–71);] . . ροεν ἄστ[;] . . ρ ὄς ἐν ἄστ[.

Fr. 4–5

These have been ascribed to the same hand as fr. 1–3 and, in view of the closeness of their inventory number and of the apparent compatibility of the subject matter insofar as it can be determined, to the same roll.

Fr. 4

Various proper names are easily recognized in this fragment, but I have found no continuous thread. It is not possible to determine whether or not the fragment gives the top of the column whose foot is represented by fr. 1.

2 Phylonome is the name given in some manuscripts of Paus. 10.14.2 and elsewhere to the step-mother of Ten(n)es. Other sources for the myth are given by Frazer at Apollod. *Epit.* 3.23; M. Huys, *ZPE* 152 (2005), 203–8. Another Phylonome in Plut. *Parall. min.* 314EF.

The interpretation of the supralinear addition is uncertain. If it represents a paragraphus, there will be no room for the supplement κλέος at 6.

3 Alcimedon? Cf. 5.

4 Naupactus, or the epic *Naupacti(c)a*.

5 Various Alcimedons are known, including a Myrmidon in the *Iliad*, and the father of Phialo, mother by Heracles of Aechmagoras.

6 τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος *Od.* 1.344, 4.726, 816. The scribe may at first have intended to write ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (*Od.* 15.80).

7 This sequence in epic at *Il.* 6.389 φέρει δ' ἅμα παῖδα τιθήνη.

11 Stesichorus?

14 ἀδ]ελφ[, Δ]ελφ[.

M. PERALE
W. B. HENRY

5095. COMMENTARY ON *ILIAD* XII AND XV

84/17(a) + 84/32(a)

fr. 1 12.5 × 18 cm

Fifth/sixth century

fr. 2 11.2 × 6.5 cm

Seven fragments of a papyrus codex containing a new commentary on the *Iliad*. A good portion of text is preserved in fr. 1 and 2+3. The → side of fr. 1 shows a right-hand margin of 2 cm, the ↓ side a left-hand margin of 2.5 cm; the → side of fr. 2 shows a left-hand margin of 2.2 cm and an upper margin of 1.5 cm, the ↓ side a right-hand margin of 2 cm and an upper margin of 1.5 cm. Fr. 3 (4 × 5.4 cm)

belongs to the same leaf as fr. 2. The → side of fr. 4 (2.5 × 2.1 cm) shows a left-hand margin of 1.5 cm, the ↓ side a right-hand margin of 1 cm; the → side of fr. 5 (6 × 4.5 cm) shows a lower margin of 4.3 cm, the ↓ side a lower margin of 4 cm. Fr. 6 is 3 × 2 cm, and fr. 7 is 1 × 0.5 cm.

The scribe writes in a splendid example of the perfected Alexandrian majuscule of the type with contrasting broad and narrow letter forms, probably datable either to between the fifth and sixth centuries AD, i.e. the period during which the canon of this type of script became established, or to the first half of the sixth century. For the dating to the fifth/sixth century (favoured by Professor G. Bastianini), see G. Cavallo, 'Grammata Alexandrina', *JÖByz* 24 (1975) 23–54, esp. 39–40, 46–8, 51 = *Il calamo e il papiro* (2005) 175–202, esp. 188–90, 195–6, 199 (with tav. XLVII a–b); Cavallo–Maehler *GBEBP* tav. 22a–b, with comm. p. 52; G. Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri: Una introduzione* (2008) 101–5. Dr Daniela Colomo prefers a dating set well into the sixth century AD, drawing on a comparison with Cavallo–Maehler *GBEBP* 1987 tav. 37 (Paschal letter dated AD 577) with the references there. The broad margins (the lower one preserved for over 4 cm, the upper one for 1.5 cm, and the lateral margin for up to 2.5 cm) and the calligraphic style reveal a high-level book product, elegant in its graphic presentation, with great care devoted to precision in the text: a rather fine copy, certainly destined for the bookselling trade. The height and width of the page cannot be determined with certainty: it can be said only that the lines contained roughly 37–40 letters and the writing area must have been about 14 cm wide, but there is nothing to indicate how many lines were contained in a page or to suggest the height of the writing area.

The text was a rich and extensive *hypomnema* on the *Iliad* in an independent codex, separate from the text of the poem. In the larger fragments, sections of commentary to book XII and book XV can be identified: fr. 1 preserves a series of lemmata belonging on the → side to *Il.* 12.91–2, 110–11, on the ↓ side to *Il.* 12.136, 139–40, 147, 148; fr. 2+3 preserve a series of lemmata belonging on the → side to *Il.* 15.610–14, 618, 623, 624, 625, on the ↓ side to *Il.* 15.641–2(?), 645, 653, 659, 661. It was very likely part of a *hypomnema* to the entire *Iliad*. The preserved portions clearly do not constitute sporadic annotations: rather, we are dealing with a complete and systematic work, reproduced in a fine high-quality edition. The lemmata identified on the two sides of fr. 1 go from l. 91 to l. 148 of book XII, and those identified on the scraps of the two sides of fr. 2+3 go from l. 610 to l. 661 of book XV. We thus may have 50–60 commented lines per page in the preserved parts; but nothing can be said about the lost parts because the page size cannot be reconstructed. It may be conjectured that roughly 100 *Iliad* lines may have been covered per sheet as an average for the whole poem, in which case book XII might have occupied five sheets, book XV eight sheets, and the entire *hypomnema* to the *Iliad* could have been contained in a fine codex composed of roughly 140–160 sheets (this seems plausible, according to the data given by Turner, *Typology* 82–4).

Iota adscript is always written. But only a few lectional signs appear: an apostrophe in fr. 1 →, l. 17 δ' ομηρος; diaeresis appears (unusually) marked by a single suprascript dot, both inorganic (fr. 1 →, l. 12 over ι in ιππουσ) and organic (fr. 2+3 →, l. 5 over υ in ηυτε). (*GMAW*² 10 with n. 44, asserts that 'sometimes a single dot' serves to mark diaeresis, but give no examples.) The only visible abbreviation, κ(αι) fr. 1 →, l. 12, appears to be motivated by respect for end-of-line alignment, but in fr. 2+3 →, l. 3, the end-of-line alignment is not respected (because the word is a lemma?). In general, the spelling is correct and the text is written carefully; probably there is a (simply phonetic?) mistake in fr. 1 ↓ 19, ἀΐσσονται for the dual ἀΐσσαντε.

The sections of the commentary are well separated by means of a middle point (more frequent is the use of a dicolon or blank space; on the middle point, see R. P. Salomons, 'Use and Meaning of the Middle Point in the Hawara Homer', *Atti XVII Congr. Intern. Papirolog.* (Napoli 1984) ii. 249–53), which is placed at the end of the lemma and at the end of the commentary section before a new lemma; but a middle point is also used as a punctuation sign within the sentences in the body of the exegesis (cf. fr. 1 → 11, 17, 18; fr. 2 + 3 → 6; fr. 2 + 3 ↓ 15).

The extent of the lemmata is variable, as is usually the case: the majority are contained within one line; in one case it is certain that the lemma consists of a single word (15.645, fr. 2 ↓ 3); in one case the lemma is a pericope that extends over two lines, both incomplete (12.139–40, fr. 1 ↓ 11–12); one lemma consists of two lines that are not fully written out but are instead indicated with a few words followed by εἶωσ and by the final word (12.110–11, possibly also 12.91–2, both in fr. 1 →). In the parts that have been preserved, the commentary matches the order of the Homeric text perfectly, and no lemmata placed in inappropriate positions are found. No names of grammarians appear, nor are citations from other authors adduced in the exegetic arguments.

A number of elements suggest that **5095** is of unusually high importance among previously known commentaries on Homer on papyrus. The Homeric commentary of the latest dating so far known (excluding the Scholia Minora and the Mythographus Homericus) is P. Mich. inv. 1206 of the the third/fourth century and written only along the fibres, suggesting (although this is not absolutely certain) that it is a fragment of a roll: W. Luppe, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 163–5; cf. M–P³ 1198.01, LDAB 2078, CPP 0485. This means that **5095** is now unquestionably the latest known Homeric *hypomnema* and the first to come to light that is definitely contained in a papyrus codex. We have at least ten codex commentaries on various authors, datable to between the third/fourth and the sixth century, but so far none on Homer (M. Stroppa, 'Some Remarks regarding Commentaries on Codex from Late Antiquity', *Trends in Classics* 1 (2009) 298–327; Stroppa, *Aegyptus* 88 (2008) 49–69); a few commentaries on papyrus rolls are dated to the fourth century AD, e.g. VI **856**, commentary on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* (Aristophanes 1 CLGP); P. Berol.

inv. 13419 (M-P³ 1357), commentary on Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.17–19). This is somewhat strange, given the extensive and long-lived endurance of the Homeric poems at all levels of education, scholarship, and society. In **5095** we have a large-scale late-antique commentary, presumably on the entire *Iliad*, contained in a book of excellent quality both as regards its graphic appearance and accuracy of the text: a book that combines concerns for aesthetic qualities with that for high-quality critical exegesis and careful transcription, a product no doubt aimed at an equally discriminating public. (On the characteristics of the non-biblical manuscripts written in Alexandrian majuscule, see A. Porro, 'Manoscritti in maiuscola alessandrina di contenuto profano: Aspetti grafici, codicologici, filologici', *S&C* 9 (1985) 169–215, with a typology that encompasses and includes **5095**; for the papyrus commentaries in bookhands, see also M. Del Fabbro, 'Il commentario nella tradizione papiracea', *Studia Papyrologica* 18 (1979) 81–3.)

Some sections of the commentary form an almost word-perfect match to the corresponding *scholia exegetica* known from the medieval codices, and some lines can be reconstructed in parallel with them (following the edition of Erbse). In other parts the phenomenon is not so striking, but here the exegetic contents and interests are of the same type as is found in the *scholia exegetica* of the medieval tradition. None of the considerable number of Homeric papyrus commentaries known to date can be so closely likened to their medieval counterparts. In this respect they differ sharply, in other words, from the line of inquiry of Aristarchean Alexandrian ancestry which, through the works of Aristonicus, Didymus, Nicanor, and Herodianus and the so-called VMK, i.e. *Viermännerkommentar*, eventually led to their preponderance in the scholia of Ven. A, as well as in smaller quantity to the scholia of the bT group of manuscripts. By comparison, the *hypomnema* from which P. Mich. 1206 derives, mentioned above, cites the grammarians Demetrius Ixion (with the title of his work), Zenodotus, and Didymus in a few abbreviated lines.

Thus **5095** alternately coincides verbatim with the corresponding medieval scholia, or shows only partial agreement, or displays a clear difference while still addressing contents of the same kind; at times it contains richer materials and preserves unknown annotations, whereas elsewhere the material seems meagre and lacks portions present in the scholia of the bT tradition that have come down to us. For example, what can be read in fr. 1 → 9–14 as a comment on *Il.* 12.91–2 is strikingly different and far richer than the material known from the corresponding scholia, but this annotation is then followed directly by that pertaining to 12.110–11, while a number of observations on the portion of Homeric text between 12.92 and l. 110 that are present in bT are missing in the papyrus; in fr. 1 ↓ 15–18 the comment on *Il.* 12.147 is certainly richer than the corresponding medieval scholia, but the preceding part unquestionably lacks the annotations to 12.137 and 144, which are present in bT.

We are grateful to Dr Davide Muratore and Professors F. Pontani and W. Lapini for comments on an earlier version, and to Dr Daniela Colomo for the English translation from the Italian of the notes below.

Fr. 1 →

].
].αι
]..
]..
 5]..
]εϛ
]αϛ
]..α
]αισφινκε
 10]μενγαρου
]ω[.].[10-12]..τεθριππον·δια
]..σελα.[7-9]..τεινδιππουςκ()
].γατο·δ.[4-6]αλλονεπαυτωνκα
]κτωρ..(.)του..[.].αϛτονκεβριονην
 15]υρτακιδησεθ·λασιος·ϛθεραποντα
]ντωιπουλυδαμαντιπαντα·εποι
]νους·οδ'ομηροςμιμουμενοστηνα..
]ντ.[3-5].θουνταεισαγει·διατι
]..ιπποισηγαλλε
 20].....[3-4](.).εϛ
]προ
]τι

1]., part of horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space; to left possibly remains of upright, ϛ or τ 5].., possibly ηϛ, less probably πϛ 8].., first, negligible; second, remains of two uprights: η or π 12].., first, possibly x (with upper part of diagonal ascending from left to right hardly visible), α not to be ruled out; second, remains of upright with thick foot, ι, τ or π ιπ, single dot above ι, diaeresis 13]., upright 14 ρ., first, upper part of upright; second, lower part of upright curving to right; third, round letter, ο or ω υ., two uncertain letters]., τ? 20].....[, first, remains of horizontal with, in upper part of the writing space to the right, extremity of diagonal ascending from left to right, perhaps of a κ; second, apex, probably of a α; third, remains of thick vertical or narrow arc or left-hand half of rather thick horizontal, compatible with ι; the whole series can be read as και, but καιτ is not to be ruled out]..εϛ, upright curving to left probably in ligature with other letter, αι or αι

		κ]αί σφιν Κε	XII 91-2
10	βριόνης τρίτος εἶπετο	]μεν γὰρ ου	
		]ω[.] [10-12] . . τέθριππον· δια	
		]. . σελα. [7-9] . . τειν δ' ἵππους κ(αὶ)	
		]. γατο· δ. [4-6] ἄλλον ἐπ' αὐτῶν κα-	
	τέλιπεν ὁ Ἐκτωρ . . (.) του . . [. .] . . ας τὸν Κεβριόνην		
15	ἀλλ' οὐ]χ Ὑρτακίδης ἐθέλ' Ἄσιος ἕως θεράποντα		110-11
	ἕτερος ποιητῆς ἀ]ν τῶι Πουλυδάμαντι πάντα ἐποί-		
	ησε πειθομέ]νους· ὁ δ' Ὀμηρος μιμούμενος τὴν ἀλή-		
	θειαν ἕνα γού]ν τῶ]ν ἀπε]ιθοῦντα εἰσάγει· διὰ τί		
	δὲ ἕνα τοῦτον; ὅτι μάλιστα το]ῖς ἵπποις ἠγάλλε-		
20	το]	

9-14 The commentary apparently focuses on the *τέθριππος*. Although the preserved scholia on these lines do not treat it, ancient exegesis preserves discussions on the presence of the four-horse chariot in the Homeric poems; see sch. *Il.* 8.185ab, 11.699, 19.400, *Od.* 4.590. In *Il.* 8.185 the names of Hector's four horses are listed: Aristarchus expunges the verse mainly on the ground that the use of the four-horse chariot is not known to Homer, a fact supported by the use of the dual for the horses. (See Aristonicus in sch. 8.185a: ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Ὀμηρος τεθρίππου χρήσιν παρεισάγει. μάχεται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπαγόμενα δυϊκά, καὶ ἢ προσφώνησις εὐήθης. The following part of the sch. seems to suggest that the four names were actually two names accompanied by two epithets; Nicanor, however, refuses this possibility.) The long sch. ex. 8.185b too states that οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τεθρίππω κέχρηται ἥρωες and adds that the *τέθριππος* is quoted only ἐπὶ παραβολῆς in *Od.* 13.81 (cf. sch. ad loc.). However, *Il.* 11.699 apparently mentions a four-horse chariot belonging to Neleus, ὑπώπτειται ὡς νόθον ἢ δύο ἄρματα δηλοῦν βούλεται (p. 335.36-9 Erbse): if so, the verse is spurious or it mentions two bigae and not a quadriga (so Aristonicus in sch. 11.699a, recording Aristarchus' interpretations: not a *τέτρωρος* but *δύο συνωρίδες*; cf. sch. ex. 699b). In any case the same sch. ex. 8.185b goes on to present other elements of the discussion. In the first place the text (p. 335.39-49 Erbse) remarks that, although the other warriors do not use the four-horse chariot, Hector alone dares to yoke four horses in order to awe and shock the enemy. Moreover, Hector is a descendant of Tros, Ganymede's father: in exchange for Ganymede Zeus gave Tros special horses since he was particularly keen on and good at riding horses. But afterwards the objection that the use of the dual follows (8.186, 191) is taken into consideration: the problem should be solved by referring the dual to two yoked horses (*ζύγιοι*) and two added laterally (*παρήγοροι*): heroes usually use three horses, two of them *ζύγιοι* and one *παρήγορος* in case one of the *ζύγιοι* is wounded, but Hector dared to yoke a fourth horse, fearing that both *ζύγιοι* (p. 335.49 - 336.62 Erbse) would be wounded. That Hector represents an 'exception' among Homeric heroes allows us to understand why sch. *Od.* 4.590, commenting on the gift of three horses and a chariot by Menelaus to Telemachus, observes that there would be no explanation for the number 'three' if they knew the *τέθριππος*: we have actually to do with a *συνωρίς* (a biga with two *ζύγιοι*) plus a *παρήγορος*, as usual in the *Iliad*, πλὴν Ἐκτορος: on this basis the reference to the idea that Hector may represent an exception to the rule according to which *τέθριππος* is not used appears to be clear. In the same direction goes the sch. of Aristonicus on *Il.* 11.699a (see above) on the 'possible' four-horse chariot belonging to Neleus: it explains that it actually consists of two bigae and concludes οἱ δὲ ὡς Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸν τετρώρω φασι χρῆσθαι ἵπποις γὰρ ὁ θεός. To sum up, on the one hand there was an exegetical view according to which the *τέθριππος* or *τέτρωρος* was not used by Homeric warriors,

apart from two exceptions due to different reasons: Hector at *Il.* 8.185 and Neleus at *Il.* 11.699. On the other hand, the interpretation given by Aristarchus allows us to understand the two passages within the general rule, according to a typical Aristarchean critical tendency. This issue somehow emerges also in the sch. of Aristonicus at *Il.* 19.400, which offers a comment on Achilles' speech to his horses Xanthos and Balios, as gifts from the gods to Peleus: *σημειοῦνται τινες, ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἢ διασκευῆ τοῦ τεθρίππου πεποιήται 'Ξάνθε τε καὶ κύ, Πόδαγρε' (Θ 185).* The meaning is not clear, but perhaps there are traces of a discussion making a point against those who held that this passage on Achilles' horses could have been used as a model for the passage on Hector's horses at *Il.* 8.185, dealing with the problem of the *τέθριππος* in this instance too.

As said above, the preserved sch. at 12.91–2 do not mention this problem. However, **5095** reveals that the problem of the *τέθριππος* (see line 11) was relevant to the interpretation of this passage too, although it is difficult to understand how and to what extent. Lines 13–14 refer to 12.92 ἄλλον *Κεβριόναο χερείονα κάλλιπεν Ἔκτωρ*, which suggests that the lemma included this verse itself (with regard to line 10 one could think of *τρίτος εἶπετο ἕως Ἔκτωρ*; cf. line 15, but see below): *exempli gratia* δι[ὸ (δὲ) καὶ] ἄλλον or δι[ὰ τοῦτο] ἄλλον (Pontani) ἐπ' αὐτῶν κα|[τέλιπεν ὁ Ἔ]κτωρ or ἄλλον ἐπ' αὐτῶν κα|[κίω κατέλιπεν ὁ Ἔ]κτωρ (Lapini), perhaps too long, although it is difficult to count the letters in the rest of this line (*ἔλιπεν* instead of *κατέλιπεν* seems to me less probable). One may think that the focus of the exegesis here was the following: Hector adds a third person to guide the first group of warriors, apart from Cebriion, Poulydamas, and himself (see lemma in *Il.* 9–10), 12.92 ἄλλον *Κεβριόναο χερείονα*, i.e. a fourth anonymous warrior, who was left near the chariot because his inferiority to Cebriion. This may have somehow been related to the horses (*ἵππους* in line 12). In any case it is not clear whether the argument was against or in favour of an allusion to the *τέθριππος*: such an allusion, however, would be rather tortuous and extravagant, given that nothing in the whole passage 12.80–92 suggests anything related to the four-horse chariot, although one cannot either rule out completely that this topic was somehow mentioned, or underestimate the fact that **5095** goes in the same direction as the sch. ex., whose sources consider Hector as an exception in relation to the use of the *τέθριππος*, as said above on *Il.* 8.185: a commentator holding the view that Hector dared to yoke a four-horse chariot in order to impress the enemy could have tried to find traces of this interpretation at any cost, especially with regard to the moment of the attack against the Achaean wall. Professor Pontani suggests the following reconstruction of this passage:

κ]αί σφιν Κε-

10 βριόνης τρίτος εἶπετο· εὐλόγως· ἔφα]μεν γὰρ οὐ-
δαμοῦ τῆς ποιήσε]ω[ς] π[αρεϊάγεσθ]αι τέθριππον· δια-
φέρων δ' ἦν οὖ]τος ἐλαύ[νειν ὄχημα, κ]ρατεῖν δ' ἵππους κ(αὶ)
ἦπτων τις ἠδ]ύγατο· δι[ὰ τοῦτο] ἄλλον ἐπ' αὐτῶν κα-
τέλιπεν ὁ Ἔ]κτωρ . . (.) του . . [. .] . ας τὸν Κεβριόνην.

10 ἔφα]μεν γὰρ would refer to the discussion of the use of bigae instead of quadrigae; at line 13 ἦπτων τις or ἕτερός τις can be suggested; at line 14 the idea of 'taking with himself' Cebriion could have been expressed.

15–20 At this point the text exactly coincides with the known sch., and therefore it is possible to reconstruct the text on the basis of the sch. ex. at this line: sch. 110a¹: *βαρβαρική ἢ ἀπείθεια. ἕτερος μὲν ἂν ποιητῆς τῷ Πολυδάμαντι ἐποίησε πάντας πειθομένους, ὁ δὲ Ὀμηρος μιμούμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἕνα γοῦν τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα εἰσάγει. διὰ τί δὲ ἕνα τοῦτον; ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἵπποις ἠγάλλετο. "μεγάλοι" (M 97) γὰρ ἦσαν· οἷς καὶ θαρρῶν ἀπόλλυται (cf. N 384–93); the wording is more concise in sch. 110a²: *βαρβαρική ἢ ἀπείθεια. μιμούμενος δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁ ποιητῆς ἕνα γοῦν τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα εἰσάγει. διὰ τί δὲ ἕνα τοῦτον; ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἵπποις ἠγάλλετο. κατατέλλει οὖν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀλαζονείαν.**

Fr. 1 ↓

. [.
 . [.
 . [.
 φ . [.
 5 c . [.
 τ . [.
 τ [.
 λα . (.) [.
 μίμνο . [.
 10 μιοντου . [.
 τασαντον και . [.] . α . ορ . [.
 ταδαμαντα . [.] (.) [.
 ανωτερωι παρα . [.] . των γαρ . [.
 ει κατ . α [.] . νυνενκαιρω [.
 15 ξίωσιν ενε . . . [. . .] (.) . ναυτους τωι [.
 ηδ . κυνων δεχ . ται . εμφατικη [.
 . . . την γενομενην ταραχην και . [.
 γ . [. . .] στοικωλοισ [. . . . (.)] [.
 τ . . . σονται π . [.
 20 ρ ε . [. . . . (.)] [.
 ρ ι . [.
 τ [.

5 initial c rounded, while c in this script is usually oval: this may be due to the fact that the letter has slightly been enlarged because it is at line-beginning 6 τ . [, π is to be excluded because there is not the usual curving right-hand upright; of the second letter remains of left-hand arc, possibly τω 8 α . (.) [, remains of upright at mid-height and perhaps traces of another letter
 12] , first, two diagonals crossing one another: the upper part of both strokes and the lower part of the diagonal ascending from left to right are visible, possibly x; second, trace of horizontal stroke at mid-height touching an upright, perhaps η; third, perhaps μ; fourth, right-hand angle of λ or Δ; fifth, upright, perhaps with a horizontal protruding from the centre, as η 13 . [, angle to the left in lower part of writing space, possibly Δ 15] . ν , first, upper part of upright 18 γ . [.] , upright whose lower extremity ends with a small blob; to right, join with another letter at mid-height
 20 . [, probably ι 21 . [, upright slightly curved, apparently not ε

	μίμνον [ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον· τὸ ἐγκώ-	XII 136
10	μιον τοῦ Ἄ[σίου φθάνει καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπομένον-	
	τας αὐτόν· καὶ Ἰ[αμενὸν] καὶ Ὀρέ[στην Ἀσιάδην	139-40
	τ' Ἀδάμαντα . . . [.] (.) [
	ἀνωτέρω παρα . [.] . των γαρ . [
	ει . . . (.) κατ(.) α [.] . νῦν ἐν καιρῶ[ι	κατ' ἀ-
15	ξιῶσιν συνε . . . [.] (.) . ν αὐτοὺς τῶι [	ἀνδρῶν
	ἦδὲ κυνῶν δέχεται· ἐμφατικῆ[	147
	. . (.) τὴν γενομένην παραχῆν καὶ ἠ[
	γ . c τοῖς κώλοισι c [. . . . (.)] . π . . [	δοχμῶ
	τ' ἀίссονται· π . [	148

9-11 Cf. sch. ex. *Il.* 12.136 *μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον*: μέγα(ν)· τὸ ἐγκώμιον Ἄσιου φθάνει καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπομένοντας αὐτόν. At line 9 it is not clear whether the commentary began with the repetition of μέγαν as in sch. (*μέγαν Ἄσιον· μέγαν τὸ ἐγκώ*||μιον) or not (*μέγαν Ἄσιον· τὸ ἐγκώ*||μιον): Professor Pontani prefers the second possibility, assuming a line of 33 letters (plus high stop); the two following lines have 36 and 35 letters respectively, but include several rather broad letters (4 μ and ω).

12 The form Ἄδ- is the commonest; only a couple of MSS contain the form Ἄκ- (cf. West, app. ad loc.): v. 140 *Ἀσιάδην τ' Ἀδάμαντα Θῶνά τε Οἰνόμαόν τε*.

After the gap, the series may be read as c]χῆμα. But see below a different interpretation of the traces.

12-15 Cf. sch. ex. 139-40: *οὔτοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄσιόν εἰσιν ἄριστοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ προκειμένη διατάξει (M 95-7) οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν καὶ τούτους καταλέγειν. εἰς γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα τοῦ Ἄσιου, ἐκεῖ (M 88-104) δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἀπάντων κατέλεγεν*. Perhaps a similar line of thought could be recognized here: as in sch. *ἐν τῇ προκειμένη διατάξει/ἐκεῖ* contrasts with the preceding *οὔτοι κτλ.*, in **5095** *ἀνωτέρω* (a later spelling for *ἀνωτέρω*) contrasts with *νῦν ἐν καιρῶ[ι*; then probably a comment on the fact that the poet thought it appropriate to list the ἄριστοι companions of Asius; e.g. *νῦν ἐν καιρῶ[ι ὁ ποιητῆς κατ' ἀ]*||ξίωσιν συνέτα[ξ]εν αὐτοὺς τῶι [Ἄσιωι (Lapini suggests a form of *συντάσσω*, cf. sch. D a 12.415: *ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας* glossed with *συνετάξαντο*, but *συνέταξεν* seems to be too short and *συνέτασσαν* is not very convincing).

15-16 After *αὐτοὺς* the commentary probably carries on (sc. *αὐτοὺς τῶι* [Ἄσιωι?]) rather than beginning a new lemma in the form *αὐτοὺς(·) τῶι* [τ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν ἀνδρῶν]||ἦδὲ κυνῶν δέχεται. Such a reconstruction would lead us to assume the omission of a high stop and a mistake, τῶι for τῶ; moreover line 15 would be too long.

16 All witnesses (included the oldest ones; cf. sch. ad loc.) have *δέχεται*; only Ambr. gr. F 205 inf. has *δέχεται* (cf. app. West ad loc.). In **5095** the letter after χ, crucial to deciding which reading was written on the papyrus, is damaged: however, the traces are compatible only with α, although some uncertainty remains.

The concept of emphasis often occurs in Homeric sch. as a criterion for stylistic judgment: examples can easily be found through Erbse's Index III, but the sch. to this passage do not offer parallels. It is possible that the commentary referred to the simile as having an emphatic function (*ἐμφατικῆ* [ἢ παραβολή, cf. sch. *Il.* 15.624-5, *Od.* 9.292) in relation to the *παραχῆ* produced in the battle.

17 The ο of *γενομένην* is particularly narrow, unless there is a mistake.

17-18 In line 18 the phrase *τοῖς κώλοισι* surely belongs to the comment on *κολοκυρτόν* of the second half of v. 147 (cf. sch. 12.147b *κολοκυρτός παρὰ τὸ κῶλα ἐπισύρειν, ἢ τὸν κολῶν καὶ κυριγμόν*).

As the lost part of v. 18 could contain from 12 to 15 letters, it does not seem possible to assume here another lemma.

· 11–18 Professor Pontani proposes the following reconstruction:

139–40

καὶ Ψ[αμενόν] καὶ Ὀρε[στην] Ἀσιάδην
 τ' Ἀδάμαντα Θό[ωνα τε Οἰ]νόμαθ[εν τε] τούτους
 ἀνωτέρω παραλ[είπει· α]ὐτῶν γὰρ τ[οὺς ἡγεμόνας
 εἰπὼν κατ' ἀν[δρ]α, νῦν ἐν καιρῶ[ι πάντας κατ' ἀ-
 15 ξιωσιν συνεπήγ[α]γεν αὐτοὺς τῶι [Ἀσίωι. ἀνδρῶν
 ἠδὲ κυνῶν δέχεται· ἐμφατικῆ [ἢ παραβολῆ· νῦν
 γὰρ τὴν γενομένην ταραχὴν καὶ ἦ[χῶ κυσίν κατὰ
 γῆς τοῖς κώλοισ κυρομ[ένοι]ς παρ[έβαλεν.

19 τ' αἴσσονται. Of λ and ι after the initial τ extremely scanty traces survive. The following high stop suggests that we have a lemma from v. 148, with a mistake in the ending, τ' αἴσσονται for τ' αἴσσοντε (a simple phonetic exchange αι/ε), although at fr. 2+3, line 6, the high stop is used within the commentary. It is possible that the lemma started in the preceding line and included the word *δοχμῶ* also from the same verse, cf. sch. 148a. Muratore suggests πλ[αγίως ὀρμώντες, cf. sch. D II. 12.148: *δοχμῶ τ' αἴσσοντες· εἰς πλάγιον ὀρμώντες.*

Fr. 2 + 3 →

top

(.)]εργαζονταικαιπαθ[
 .[.]ταβολ.....νερ...[
(.)η..[(.)].δ[.].κνυταικαιτου.[
 πιστινεμπο[.]υσιν·ιςχονγαρπ[
 5 ηϋτεπετρη·ημενεμβολητων[
 σινεικασταικαιανεμωι·ηδετων[
].τωικ.[
].λλεμ.[
]..ρος·ενδε.[.]ωσοτεκ.[
 10]τομηφαναι..[
].φοδρανεμφ.[
]εωνανεμ..[
]τωνακουον[
].ματωνκατ.[
 15]..σεκτυπουα.[
]υμμεν.[
].υ[

3(.), first, a tiny curve at line-level, possibly lower extremity of left-hand arc; second, two extremely scanty traces at line-level and in upper part of writing space (before them perhaps small lacuna of one letter), third, upper part of two uprights (possibly η, although very doubtful) η.., first,

probably θ , second, curve in upper part of writing space (suited ϵ) v , left-hand arc, perhaps c δ δ , left-hand arc suggesting an oval letter like ϵ , \circ , c ; ϕ not to be ruled out 17 δ , horizontal stroke, perhaps τ or π , followed by traces compatible with the upper part of a γ , but without the usual ligature with τ/π

	top	
	.(.)] ἐργάζονται καὶ παθ[	XV 610–14
	[με]ταβολῆ νερ . . . [
	. . . . (.)η . . [. (.)] δ[ε]ἰκνυται καὶ του . [
	πίστιν ἐμπο[ιο]ῦσιν· ἴσχον γὰρ π[υργηδὸν ἀρηρότες	618
5	ἤϋτε πέτρῃ· ἢ μὲν ἐμβολῆ τῶν [βαρβάρων κύμα-	
	σιν εἴκασται καὶ ἀνέμῳ· ἢ δὲ τῶν [Ἑλλήνων καρτε-	
	ρία τῶι τῆς πέτρας ἀκιν]ήτῳ κα[ὶ δυσπαθεῖ. λαμπό-	623
	μενος πυρί·]αλλεμ . [
	]πυρος· ἐν δ' ἔπ[εσ]' ὡς ὅτε κῦ[μα θεῶι ἐν νηὶ πέ-	624
10	σῆσι· εὐ δὲ] τὸ μὴ φάναι ἐπ[ήλθεν	
	] σφοδρὰν ἐμφα[ιν- τὴν βίαν	
	ὑπαὶ νεφ]έων ἀνεμοτ[ρεφέσ	625
	]των ακουον[
	] . ματων κατ . [
15	] . σεκτυπουα . [
	κεκαλ]υμμένη[
	]τῦ[

1–4 The remains of the commentary certainly refer to 15.610–14, but the problem related to the expunction of these verses by Aristarchus is not treated. This problem is treated both in sch. *a* of Aristonicus (*ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι πέντε*) and in sch. *ex. b*¹ and *b*². The sch. *ex.* defend the authenticity of those verses, especially on the basis of stylistic observations. Sch. *b*² observes that the reiterated occurrence of Hector's name at v. 610 conveys more emphasis (and therefore is not a pointless repetition; cf. sch. *a*). Moreover, sch. *b*¹ and *b*² coincide almost completely in the last section, which concerns 15.612–14: *καὶ ἡ πρόληψις (sc. 612–14) δὲ ἔστι σῆμα ποιητικόν. προσεκτικὸν δὲ ταῦτα τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ περιπαθέστερον ἐργάζονται. καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος ἰσχυρὸς χρηστὸν, καὶ ὡς (ἀπὸ add. *b*¹) συναλοῦντος ἢ πίστις (*b*², sim. *b*¹). It cannot be known whether in the lost part of our *hypomnema* the problem of the expunction was treated (if it was treated, probably the expunction was rejected); we can observe, however, that 5095 contains observations on three points: (*a*) the prolepsis in 15.612–14; (*b*) the psychological impact of the passage on *ἀκροατής* (cf. l. 1); and (*c*) the *πίστις* produced by a speaker who sympathetically shares the sorrow (cf. l. 4)—in a fuller form in comparison to the sch. This is significant because these points represent the arguments that in the sch. are used to reject the expunction by Aristarchus. The *μεταβολή* of l. 2 is not paralleled in the sch. *ex.*: it could refer to the 'change' announced at vv. 612–14, where Hector's imminent death is anticipated and announced, while Hector at this very moment is victorious thanks to Zeus' support (cf. *μινυθάδιος* 612, *ὀλιγοχρόνιος* sch. *b*¹, p. 127, r. 39 Erbse).*

1 *Exempli gratia* [προσεκτικὸν δὲ ταῦτα τὸν ἀκροα|τὴν] ἐργάζονται καὶ παθ[ητικώτερον (Lapini), if not a mistake for <περι>παθ[έστερον; cf. the sch. quoted above.

3 Possibly ἐ[π]ιδ[ε]ίκνυται.

4 πίστιν ἐμπο[ιω]ῦσιν. On this phrase cf. sch. ex. *Il.* 23.670.

4-7 The text can be reconstructed on the basis of sch. ex. 15.618b: ἡ μὲν ἐμβολὴ τῶν βαρβάρων κύμασιν εἴκασται ταχὺ διαλυομένοις (sc. vv. 624-8), ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρτερία τῶ τῆς πέτρας ἀκινήτῳ καὶ δυσπαθεῖ (sc. vv. 618-22). The length of l. 5, which seems to be of 34 letters (plus high stop) against the 40 letters of l. 4 and the 38 letters of l. 6, is doubtful; but cf. above, fr. 1 ↓ 9 with comm. at ll. 9-11: here too l. 5 contains several broad letters (unless we insert νῦν before κύμασιν, as Pontani suggests). In **5095** as in sch. the comment at v. 618 parallels the two similes in a reverse sequence in respect to the poetic text. The simile at vv. 624-8 is then treated separately at ll. 9 ff.

5 A single dot above *v* of ἠυτε marking diaeresis.

7-9 On the basis of]πυρος of l. 9 one can suppose a comment on v. 623 αὐτὰρ ὁ λαμπόμενος πυρὶ πάντοθεν ἔνθορ' ὀμίλω: cf. sch. ex. 623 <λαμπόμενος πυρί:> περιλαμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλων ὡς ὑπὸ πυρός.

8 Although the body of φ is usually more rounded, it may be possible to read ἐμφ[α-, with reference to the emphasis (cf. at l. 11 and fr. 1 ↓ 16) of the image of Hector joining the fight λαμπόμενος πυρί.

9 Here is the join between the two frs.:]ωσοτεκ . [belongs to fr. 2, which here breaks off, while] . . ρος·ενδε . [belongs to fr. 3, which includes the following lines.

9-12 Cf. sch. ex. 624-5 ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' ὡς ὅτε κύμα <θοῆ ἐν νηὶ πέσσει / --- ἀνεμοτρεφές>: πεπύκνυται ταῖς παραβολαῖς ὁ τόπος πρὸς ἔμφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων. ἡ δὲ ἐν (624) ἐμφαίνει τὴν βίαν τοῦ κύματος. εἰς ἐπίτασιν δὲ πρόσκειται ἀνεμοτρεφές (625). εὖ δὲ τὸ μὴ φάναι ἐπήλθεν ἢ ἐπέδραμεν, ἀλλ' ἐνέπεσε, σφοδρὰν τὴν βίαν δηλῶν. Possible reconstruction *exempli gratia*:

	ὑπὸ] πυρός· ἐν δ' ἔπ[εσ]' ὡς ὅτε κύ[μα θοῆ ἐν νηὶ πέ-	624
10	σσει· εὖ δὲ] τὸ μὴ φάναι ἐπ[ήλθεν ἢ ἐπέδραμεν, ἀλλ' ἐνέπεσε] σφοδρὰν ἐμφα[ίνων τὴν βίαν τοῦ κύματος· ὑπαὶ νεφ]έων ἀνεμοτ[ρεφές	625

12 ff. Here the comment on the simile of the wave falling on the ship, with the description of the ship itself during the violent storm. Cf. sch. ex. *Il.* 15.6256a ὑπαὶ νεφέων ἀνεμοτρεφές· <ἡ δὲ τε πᾶσα / ἄχνη ὑπεκρύφθη>: ἠῦξημένον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου, ὡς εἶναι ὑποκάτω τῶν νεφῶν καὶ πλησιάζειν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνεμοτρεφές τὸ εὔτονον. καὶ *Κιμωνίδης* (fr. 107 P. = PMG 612) “ἀνεμοτρεφῶν πυλάων” εἴρηκεν. ὁ δὲ κόμπος τῶν λεγομένων καὶ ὁ ψόφος τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἔῃ ἰδεῖν τὴν ναῦν ἀφρῶ κεκαλυμμένην.

13]τῶν ἀκουόν[των?

14 Possibly ὁ ψόφος τῶν ὀν]ομάτων.

15 Probably] . σε κτύπου αμ[.

Fr. 2 + 3 ↓

top

]αρετηνπροσεκλογη[
] . [.] ονε . [.] . . ωτοι . [.]
] . τηντουτοδε . . . [(.) .] . (.) · στρ . φ . εις ·
] καινοσοτροπος . [. (.)] αρ[.] ιαλλαπτω
5] . σενουτοστραφειςγαρι[.] αφυλα
] ασεαυτονπ . ραποδις . ει

], σκατα[
]χθη·εις[
]γαρπρω[. .(.)]. . . . [. .] . [. .]
 10]σπροστωι . [. .]
]ωνεωρωντ[. .]
]μενπεριτω . [. .]
]α[.]οι·νεστω[. .]
]ων·εντοις[. .]
 15]ις·διατου . . [. .]
]. ταικαιτα . [. .]
](.) . . καιαι . [. .]
]. . ιτ . . [. .]

2 ε . [, probably λ . [, ε rather than ε . [3] . τ , probably ε . [, upper part of upright with thicker extremity . [. .] , two traces in upper part of writing-space, of which the second is the upper part of a upright with left-hand blob: η or αι . [8 χθ , first, short oblique trace ascending from left to right and slightly protruding below the line level, should belong to the ascending diagonal of a χ; second, the prolongation of the lower part of the descending diagonal of χ into θ as in fr. 1↓ 16 9] . . . , third, λ? 10 . . [, upright bearing a cross-bar: τ or π 16] . , upright . [, diagonal stroke descending from left to right 17] (.) . . , two traces in the upper part of the writing space, compatible with the upper part of η , or with the right-hand half of a λ followed by ι , or with the central and right-hand part of ω 18 . ι , possibly ε or θ ; less probably λ

top
]ἀρετήν πρὸς ἐκλογῇ[ν] XV 641-3?
]. [.] ονε . [.] . . ωτοι . [. .]
]. την τουτοδε . . . [(.)] . (.) · στρεφθεις· 645
]. καινὸς ὁ τρόπος . [. (.)] αρ[.] ι αλλα πτω-
 5] . εσεν οὔτος . στραφεις γὰρ ἴ[ν]α φυλά- 28
 ξηται συστειλ]αc εαυτὸν παραποδιςθεις τῶι μή-
 κει τῆc ἀσπίδ]οc κατὰ [τὴν ἄντυγα ὑπτιοc πάλτο
 ὃ ἔστι κατηνέ]χθη· εις[ωποὶ 653
]γὰρ πρω[. .(.)]. . . . [. .] . [. .]
 10]σπροστωι . [. .]
]ωνεωρωντ[. .]
]μενπεριτω . [. .]
]α[.]οι· Νέστω[ρ αὔτε μάλι- 659
 στα Γερήνιοc οὔροc Ἀχαι]ῶν· ἐν τοις[. .]
 15]ις· διατου . . [. .]

]. ται και τα. [

](.) . . . και αιδ[ω

661

]. . . ! ? . . . [

1 The commentary would refer to 15.641 or rather to 641–43, where Periphetes, son of Co-preus, is told to be much better than his father παντοίας ἀρετάς: the sch. ex. criticize the simile for being so unfavourable to the father in comparison to the son (cf. sch. ex. 15.641ab). Line 1 should refer to the ‘choice’ based on the ἀρετή (on the phrase πρὸς ἐκλογὴν cf. sch. ex. *Il.* 18.490).

3]. την. Read ἀρ]ετήν?

The middle stop before στρεφθεις is very faded. The lemma slightly protrudes in the margin to the right and is followed by a dot indicating lemma-end: therefore it consisted of a single word. Didymus’ sch. 645a, διχῶς δὲ τὸ στρεφθεις, διὰ τοῦ α και διὰ τοῦ ε, provides evidence for the existence of the alternative reading στραφθεις (cf. West app. ad loc.: no MSS record this reading): unfortunately in 5095 of the letter between ρ and φ only very scanty traces survive, although they seem to be compatible with λ.

3–8 The comment concerns 15.645 ff.:

στρεφθεις γὰρ μετόπισθεν ἐν ἀσπίδος ἄντυγι πάλτο,	645
τὴν αὐτὸς φορέεσκε ποδηκεῖ, ἔρκος ἀκόντων	
τῆ ὅ γ’ ἐνὶ βλαφθεις πέσεν ὕπτιος, ἀμφὶ δὲ πήληξ	
μερδαλέον κονάβησε περὶ κρατάφοισι πεσόντος.	648

Periphetes (cf. 1 n.) ‘turning himself back, stumbled on the edge of his shield’, and therefore fell to the ground and was easily killed by Hector. The sch. ex. offer comparable elements: sch. 645b στρεφθεις γὰρ μετόπισθεν < --- πάλτο > : ὥστε οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ κατορθώσας φαίνεται ὁ Ἔκτωρ, τῆ δὲ τοῦ Περιφήτου δυστυχία συγκέχρηται· τὸ γὰρ πτώμα συνέπραξε πρὸς τὸ εὐχερῆ γενέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν; sch. 645c <στρεφθεις γὰρ μετόπισθεν> ὅπως φυλάξεται συστειλας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀσπίδα; sch. 645e: ἐν ἀσπίδος ἄντυγι πάλτο: παραποδισθεις τῷ μήκει τῆς ἀσπίδος κατὰ τὴν ἄντυγα ὕπτιος κατηνέχθη. πάλτο δὲ ἐνεπελάσθη (cf. also sch. ex. *Il.* 4.462a ὕπτιος γὰρ ἐνέπεσεν κτλ.).

At l. 4 Pontani suggests τοῦ θανάτου]ν καινὸς ὁ τρόπος; an explanatory sentence could have followed (ὁ γὰρ would be natural, but it does not seem possible to reconstruct the remainder with certainty). ἀλλὰ πτώματι would be plausible, followed by a verb like κατέ]πεσεν or a similar verb (cf. sch. D 4.493 ἤριπε: κατηνέχθη, ἔπεσεν; 14.55 κατήριπεν: κατηνέχθη, κατέπεσεν; 15.464 παρεπλάγχθη: παρηνέχθη, παρέπεσεν), or by βίον ἀπώ]λεσεν (see below), and preceded by something contrasting the πτώμα as the cause of the warrior’s death: e.g. οὐκ ἀρῆι ἀλλὰ πτώματι, perhaps with irony on the death of clumsy Periphetes (a most inescapable and fatal end, contrasting with a completely avoidable and banal obstacle; on the phrase cf. sch. ex. *Il.* 6.286 οὔτε γὰρ συναιεῖν τῆ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρῆ δύναται ὡς μήτηρ, οὔτε ἀπολογεῖσθαι κτλ.). However, in view of the traces and space, it is not possible to read οὐκ before αρ. Moreover, ἀρῆι is not frequently used. Alternatively, one may think of a verb before ἀλλά (ending in -ρει?) and indicating something (positive?) accomplished by the character, who, however, ingloriously dies because of his fall. An alternative interpretation is offered by Lapini: ἀλλ’ ἄπτω[τος ὦν ἄν ἤρ]κεσεν οὗτος (but it is unclear what preceded): in this case the comment would not be ironic, but Periphetes would be pitied as a warrior who has been much better than his father in his ἀρετή, and therefore would have been able to defend himself, if a cruel destiny had not reserved an inglorious death for him from a fall (a death that in any case brings to Hector κῦδος ὑπέρτερον, v. 644). On the basis of the plausible πτώ[ματι βίον ἀπώ]λεσεν οὗτος at ll. 4–5, Pontani proposes three interpretations, ‘each unsatisfying for one reason or another’: (a) τοῦ θανάτου]ν καινὸς ὁ τρόπος: ο[ὗ

γ]ὰρ [δ]ι' ἄλλ' ἢ πτώ|ματι βίον ἀπώ]λεσεν οὗτος, which makes necessary the correction of *αλλα* into *αλλη*; (b) τοῦ θανάτο]υ καινὸς ὁ τρόπος παρ[ὰ] τᾶλλα πτώ|ματα, ὡς βίον ἀπώ]λεσεν οὗτος, with a problematic reading *παρ[* after *τρόπος*; (c) τῆς μάχης ο]ὗ καινὸς ὁ τρόπος παρ[ῆ]ν, ἀλλὰ πτώ|ματι βίον ἀπώ]λεσεν οὗτος, with the same difficulty as above. Finally, there remains the possibility of a lacuna in l. 4.

The phrase *καινὸς ὁ τρόπος* at l. 4 is interestingly paralleled by sch. ex. *Il.* 16.594 *ἐτράπετο*: ἐδήλωσεν αὐτὸ ἐξῆς διὰ τοῦ “στρεφθεὶς ἐξαπίνης” (*Il.* 598). *καινὸς δὲ ὁ τρόπος*: ὁ γὰρ φεύγων ἐπιστραφεὶς κτείνει τὸν διώκοντα. Under the attack by the Achaeans, the Trojans are withdrawing, but Glaucus at first *ἐτράπετ(ο)* and, while being chased and caught (15.598), suddenly turns back, *στρεφθεὶς ἐξαπίνης*, and kills his pursuer. As in 15.645 ff., here too we find a chased warrior who turns back to face his pursuer: while in the first case Periphetes fails in his attempt, falls and is killed by Hector, in this case, on the contrary, Glaucus succeeds against the warrior Bacticles, who is going to catch him. The sch. remarks on the contrast, ὁ φεύγων ἐπιστραφεὶς κτείνει τὸν διώκοντα. The two cases have in common the motive of a chased warrior who turns himself back and faces his pursuer: in 15.645 ff. one may say that the *καινότης* pointed out by the ancient interpreters consists in the fact that the chased warrior is killed because a clumsy fall in turning back, while in 16.593–8 the *καινότης* consists in the fact that the chased warrior succeeds against his pursuer.

7–8 *πάλο* or *ἐπάλο*, followed by a gloss. Alternatively Pontani: *κατὰ [τὴν ἄντυγα ἐνέπεσεν καὶ | ὕπτιος ἐσφά]χθη*.

After *η* there is a high dot, probably followed by a lemma, which must be *εἰσωποί* of 15.653: *εἰσωποί δ' ἐγένοντο νεῶν, περὶ δ' ἔσχεθον ἄκραι / νῆες ὅσαι πρῶται εἰρύατο*. There are problems here with the precise identification of places and movements of warriors at the moment when the Trojans reach the Achaean ships. The sch. offer not many suggestions for the reconstruction of these lines: sch. ex. 653 *εἰσωποί δ' ἐγένοντο νεῶν*: ὑπέστειλαν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς ναῦς· εἰς γὰρ τὰ μεταξὺ διαστήματα φεύγουσι, βραχὺ μέρος ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν νεῶν ὡς τὰς πρύμνας αὐτοὺς ὑποβεβηκέναι. οἱ δὲ ὅτι ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ἀπόψει γέγονε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν τοῖς Τρωσίν; sch. D *εἰσωποί δ' ἐγένοντο νεῶν*: ἐν ὅψει τὰς ναῦς ἐβλεπον, ὅ ἐστιν εἰσῆλθον εἰς αὐτάς, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο.

9 In this line the two fr. join: the sequence]*γαρπρω*[belongs to fr. 2, which breaks off here; the following sequence] . δ . [.] . [belongs to fr. 3, which includes the following lines. The sch. D *ἄκραι: αἱ πρῶραι* suggests τὰς] γὰρ πρῶ[ρας.

10 Muratore suggests τὰ]ς πρὸς τῶι τ[είχει]]ναῦς; cf. sch. ex. *Il.* 14.31–2, concerning the topography of the Achaean camp (on which subject Aristarchus wrote a treatise): *ἔσχαται δὲ αἱ (sc. νῆες) πρὸς τῶι τείχει. αἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος νῆες πᾶσαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ ἦσαν*.

11]*ων εωρωντ*[. Read *ἐωρώντο* or *ἐώρων*. *Exempli gratia* τ[ὰς πρύμνας πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν.

13–17 The dots at 13 and 14 mark the beginning and the end of the lemma, which included all of v. 659. The comment here in **5095** was rather long, although the sch. preserve nothing (apart from sch. D *οὔρος: νῦν φύλαξ*). Perhaps it included also the following v. 660; cf. sch. ad loc.

14 Probably ἐν τοῖς [.

15 Probably διὰ τοῦ . [, preceded by the trace of a high stop: however, what precedes and what follows are not part of a lemma, and therefore the punctuation must articulate the commentary.

17 After the stop, a lemma from v. 661 begins: ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἔστε καὶ αἰδῶ θέεθ' ἐνὶ θυμῶ, which is commented by sch. ex. 661–2ab; the same verse occurs in 15.561, commented by sch. Ge (Erbse ad loc.).

Fr. 4

→

↓

. . .
]. [
 ρεξα [
 δι [
 .. [
 . . .

. . .
]. [
]. νπε
]ρωεε
]τοτα
 . . .

Fr. 5

→

↓

. . .
]ειψ [
 bottom

. . .
]. υκ [
 bottom

Fr. 4 →

1] , because of the loss of the upper layer of fibres only a very scanty trace is visible; apparently accidental ink to the left of the preserved text, not in alignment with it 3 .. [, first, a curve in upper part of writing space; second, the thick upper extremity of an upright

2 *Exempli gratia* ρεξα[ντι εοικώς 15.586 or δ]ρεξα[ι 15.596.

↓

3 T]ρωεε ?

Fr. 5 ↓

1] , horizontal stroke at mid-height, probably belonging to ε.

Fr. 6 →(?)

top
]..... [
 . . .

Fr. 7 →(?)

. . .
]. ς
 . . .

Fr. 6

Negligible traces. No traces of ink on the other side.

Fr. 7

On the other side very faded traces of ink.

V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5096. ROMAN COLLECTION OF PTOLEMAIC RULINGS

106/12(a)

15.4 × 13 cm

Early first century
Plate XIV

A fragment of a collection made in the early Roman period of Ptolemaic royal rulings with Roman amendments. The verso of the papyrus was later reused for what seems to be a draft of a law-court speech, published as **5098** below. The fragment is complete at the top, which has a 3.5 cm margin, and the space at the end of 2 suggests that it is almost complete to the right. Probably half or more of lines 1–6 have been lost to the left. The text was written in a broad column or columns with generous interlinear spacing. The blank spaces at the ends of lines 4 and 7 show that it was arranged by paragraphs, apparently one for each ruling. The hand, which is confident and regular with occasional cursive tendencies (e.g. end of 4), looks to be of Augustan or Tiberian date.

The first two paragraphs (lines 1–4, 5–7) contain rulings of a single monarch—‘year 19 of my times’—about confiscation to the *idios logos* of the estates of two categories of people who die after year 19 (see notes ad loc.): two-thirds if they have made wills or their whole property if they die intestate. The third paragraph contains a ruling about officials, whether those appointed by the kings (i.e. Ptolemies) or those who hold or have held a ‘public’ position, probably fining those who had abused their office (see note ad loc.); because this usage of *δημόσιος* is Roman, this must be a Roman extension of a Ptolemaic ruling, presumably made when some former Ptolemaic officials or their heirs were still alive. So too, if the first two rulings are Ptolemaic, their reproduction here implies that they still had potential applicability; indeed the continued specification of the watershed of year 19 would seem to envisage that there could still be heirs living of men who had died before it.

On the above assumptions, the year 19 could be, in reverse chronological order, that of Tiberius (AD 32/3), Augustus (12/11 BC), Cleopatra VII (34/3 BC), Ptolemy XII Auletes (63/2 BC) or possibly Ptolemy X Alexander I (96/5 BC). Tiberius and Augustus are unlikely because no rulings of this sort are cited in the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, and year 19 was not significant for either in terms of known legislation or events in Egypt. In theory Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy X should not be candidates because each was a joint ruler in their years 19, but caution is advised by the case of *OGIS 761* (*C. Ord. Ptol.* 64), a grant of asylum to a temple by Ptolemy X in his year 18 prefaced as if he were sole monarch. However, Ptolemy X is probably too early, and P. Bingen 45 has revealed that Cleopatra VII termed 34/3 BC her ‘year

19 and 4' (sc. of Egypt and of Cyrene, Cyprus, and Phoenicia). In favour of year 19 of Ptolemy XII there is the positive consideration that he was almost certainly the author of the various rulings collected in BGU IV 1185 (*C. Ord. Ptol.* 71), one of which remits debts due to the crown up to year 19 of his reign, another concerns land on which *geometria* has been paid up to year 21, while a third allows relatives to inherit the allotments of catocic cavalrymen who die intestate. These rulings, incidentally, were originally attributed to Ptolemy X; Wilcken's reattribution of them to Ptolemy XII, although his reason that they are in the name of a sole monarch is not entirely safe (cf. the case of *OGIS* 761), is supported by the probability that the text comes from a cartonnage from Abusir el-Melek composed almost exclusively of documents from the reigns of Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra VII, including at least two copies of edicts of Cleopatra VII: see E. Salmenkivi, *P. Berl. Salmen.* pp. 29–36.

The phrase 'year 19 of my times' finds no parallel in other edicts of the Ptolemies or Roman emperors, although they sometimes refer in more general terms to 'my times' or 'my principate', and it is probably a later gloss to clarify that the year 19 was that of the author of the two rulings, Ptolemy XII, rather than the more recent years 19 of Cleopatra VII and Augustus (see note ad loc.). Presumably the first two edicts were issued shortly before his year 19, perhaps in 64 BC, which may also be the date of the edicts in BGU IV 1185. At the time Rome's leaders were arguing over whether to annex Egypt, and Ptolemy XII needed both money and the support of the army. Hence his concessions to the catocic cavalry, including remission of debts to the crown up to year 19, while the two rulings here probably represent the reaffirmation or toughening from year 19 onwards of some penalties due to the crown. They add to the evidence that the Ptolemaic office of the *idios logos* had by now developed into a patrimonial institution like that of the Roman period: see D. W. Rathbone, 'Egypt, Augustus and Roman Taxation', *Cahiers du Centre Glotz* 4 (1993) 81–112.

The collection and glossing of these rulings in a format that was, or was meant to look, 'official' illustrates the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule. Where local rules did not conflict with Roman law or subsequent Roman enactments, they were usually treated as authoritative. There are several known Roman-period private and official citations of Ptolemaic royal edicts (*C. Ord. Ptol.* All. 114–23), and the Gnomon of the Idios Logos includes rulings which are clearly of Ptolemaic origin (e.g. §§ 11–12, 48), even if § 37, which is also in XLII 3014, a mid-first-century copy of the Gnomon, is the only one to refer specifically, albeit generically, to 'edicts of kings and prefects'. The dossier of known Ptolemaic royal edicts in *C. Ord. Ptol.* shows that there was already a long tradition of private and official collation and copying of edicts of current and previous rulers, sometimes with paraphrasing of individual rulings. P. Vindob. Tandem I (*C. Ord. Ptol.* add. All. 124), which remains the only known case of a Roman-period copy of the full text of a Ptolemaic edict, shows that this practice continued through to the mid

third century. The Gnomon of the Idios Logos is different in that it was a centrally-issued and fairly stable collection, with fixed numbering of the paragraphs for each rule cited, and that all the rulings are cited in the third person and in abbreviated form. The Gnomon proclaims itself to be a selection of the most commonly encountered rules relevant to the Idios Logos. While the third ruling of this text may be subsumed in a paragraph of the Gnomon, the first two rulings do not appear, probably because their relevance soon passed. The text suggests that, at least in the earlier period of Roman rule, ad hoc collections of Ptolemaic rulings with Roman adaptations were compiled by local agents of the Roman administration in addition to the centralised creation and circulation of guides like the Gnomon of the Idios Logos.

] η τελευτήσουσι μετὰ τὸ ιθ (ἔτος) τῶν
 [ἐμῶν χρόνων] διαθῶνται τῶν μὲν διαθεμένων
] εἰς τὸν ἴδιον λόγον, τῶν δὲ ἀδιαθέτ[ων]
 πάν]τα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.
 5] γων οἱ μετὰ τὸ ιθ (ἔτος) τῶν ἐμῶν χρόνων ἔτ[ι]
] . . . τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εστ[. . .]
] . διαθῶνται, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.
 ὑπὸ τῶν] βασιλέων ἐπὶ τινῶν πραγμάτων ἐτάχθησαν ἢ δημόσιόν τι ἐχ[. . .]

] who die after year 19 of [my times --- whether or not?] they have made wills; of those who have made wills [---] to the idios logos, but of the intestate [---] all their property.

‘[--- of those] who after year 19 of my times still [---] two-thirds of their property [--- but if they] have [not?] made wills, all their property.

‘[--- those] who have been appointed by the kings over any affairs or hold(?) any public position [

1-4 The first ruling orders confiscation at death of the property of those from a defined group who die after year 19: the whole of it if they had not made wills, and probably, comparing the second ruling, two-thirds if they had. The intestate (ἀδιάθετοι) are mentioned and treated as a particular case in only one known ruling explicitly of a Ptolemaic monarch, but also in two rulings in the Gnomon of the Idios Logos apparently of Ptolemaic origin. In BGU IV 1185.16-19 (see introd.), Ptolemy XII extends to the Heracleopolite catocic cavalry a right previously granted to the Arsinoite cavalry, that if they were to die intestate their relatives could inherit their allotments. The Gnomon has four paragraphs that list potential claims of the *fiscus* to property of the intestate. §4, ‘The property of those who die intestate to whom there is no heir in law is adjudicated to the *fiscus*’, is the Republican procedure for *bona vacantia* as diverted by Augustus to benefit the *patrimonium*, even if it was also applicable to inheritance under local law. §35 is a purely Roman rule applying to Roman soldiers. §9, which allows only patrons and their sons to inherit from freedmen of ‘citizens’ who die childless and intestate, despite intrusion of the Roman term ‘patrons’ for ex-masters, must be of Ptolemaic origin because it refers to ἀτροί and is different from Roman law in excluding the daughters of ex-masters (cf. Gnomon §22). The fourth, §112, despite its problematic lacunae, is also strikingly similar in its penalty to the ruling here: ‘Of castrated men and (natural) eunuchs who [have been registered (Schubart, *BL* III 18) / do not have children (Reinach, *BL* II 30)], after their death, if they die intestate,

the [whole property] is confiscated, but if they have made wills two thirds [are taken] and the third [goes] to those, if any, of the same (civil) status to whom they have bequeathed [their property]'. Contrary to Schubart's interpretation, this does not fit either the Roman legal tradition in general, which treated the castrated and natural eunuchs differently (*Dig.* 23.3.39.1, 40.2.14.1), or Domitian's edict against castration of slaves (Suet. *Domit.* 7.1), and so is probably Ptolemaic in origin. Another parallel in terms of penalty occurs in §45, which is probably Ptolemaic, like the other rules about *ἀστροί*, because the concept of 'later (post-marital) acquisitions' has Greek roots (cf. P. Dryton 4.20): 'If a citizen (man) has married an Egyptian woman and died childless, the *fiscus* confiscates his later acquisitions (*ἐπίκτητα*), but if he has children, it confiscates two thirds' (there follow the rules if he had previous children by a citizen wife). It may be worth noting that two-thirds as the portion to be confiscated occurs in this (probably) and the second ruling of this text and in two probably Ptolemaic rulings from the Gnomon (§§45, 112), but in no certainly Roman regulation. In the case of this first ruling the lacunae are too large to allow any sensible guess at the category of people to whom it applied, or whether childlessness was also a criterion for the penalty.

1 and 5 *μετὰ τὸ ἴθ' (ἔτος) τῶν ἐμῶν χρόνων*. In other edicts where Ptolemaic rulers refer to past or future years in their reign, such as the 'amnesty' edict of 118 BC (P. Tebt. I 5.42, 64, 95 etc.; *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53) they just say 'year *x*'. A similar use of the phrase occurs in XLVII 3343, in which a Prefect of around 204–6 circulates his responses to accumulated petitions and refers to those 'of my times' (line 3) as distinct, implicitly, from the petitions addressed to his predecessor but left to him to answer.

3 *εἰς τὸν ἴδιον λόγον*. In the Gnomon of the Idios Logos confiscation is never said to be 'to the Idios Logos' but 'to the *fiscus*' (in the sense of *patrimonium*). Whereas confiscation to the Ptolemaic *idios logos* was an automatic bureaucratic procedure, as it is here, the role of the Roman Idioslogos, following Roman Republican practice, was to adjudicate claims that property should be confiscated to the *fiscus* (e.g. Strabo 17.1.2; Gnomon §§4, 9).

5–7 This second ruling concerns another unidentifiable category of people who 'still' do something, or have not done something, after year 19 and then die; two-thirds or the whole of their property is, by analogy with the first ruling, to be confiscated on their death according to whether they had or had not made wills.

5 *ἔτ[ι]* restored because lines 1–2 suggest that the scribe did not break words across lines, and because 'after year 19' refers to the future, so a verb in the past tense is not expected (cf. line 1).

7 It is implausible that all the property of those who make wills is to be confiscated; the ruling presumably said 'who do not] make wills', or perhaps 'who make [invalid] wills'.

8 *ὑπὸ τῶν] βασιλέων ἐπὶ τινῶν πραγμάτων ἐτάχθησαν*. This is adapted and glossed from the phrase *οἱ ἐπὶ πραγμάτων τεταγμένοι* used in several Ptolemaic edicts to denote royal officials as a group distinct from the rest of the population, for instance P. Tebt. I 5.248 (*C. Ord. Ptol.* 53; 118 BC): 'That neither those appointed over affairs nor the rest . . .'. The sense of this third ruling may have been similar to Gnomon §37 (also in the first-century copy XLII 3014 11–13): 'Those who have acted in an improper manner contrary to the edicts of kings or prefects have been fined: some a quarter of their estate, some a half, others the whole', if we follow Schubart and Üxküll-Gyllenband in taking *τι πράξαντες* to mean action as an official.

D. W. RATHBONE

5097. PREFECTORAL EDICT

21 3B.29.D(15-17)a

fr. 1 7.0 × 8.3 cm
fr. 2 6.8 × 15.5 cm27 February 62
Plate XII

A light-coloured papyrus in two fragments, containing an edict of the prefect L. Julius Vestinus, attested in office in 60–62. It is not possible to join the two fragments directly, nor is it possible fully to recover the sense of the text in the middle section between the two fragments. It seems unlikely that much more than a couple of lines at most are wholly lost. The hand is a rounded documentary cursive typical of the mid first century, of not very high quality and degenerating towards the end of the text; mostly bilinear, letters well separated, little use of ligature, using the split-top tau characteristic of this period. It bears comparison in some respects with XXV 2435 recto (= *GMAW*² 57). The back is blank.

In fr. 1 the prefect deals with a matter involving Sarapion son of Diogenes, the president of the guild of weavers of Oxyrhynchus, in relation to (presumably illegal) financial exactions, *λογείας* (fr. 1. 8). As far as the text takes us, Sarapion had been summoned to appear in court (*κηρυχθέντα*) and had perhaps failed to appear, which might explain the prefect's intervention to confirm a judgment or to threaten or secure some further action against him. One might normally be pessimistic about identifying Sarapion son of Diogenes at Oxyrhynchus, in view of the commonness of the names, but XLI 2957 (AD 91) might offer a possibility: there a woman registers with the collectors of the weavers' tax the death of a slave weaver who formerly belonged to her deceased husband, Sarapion son of Diogenes, but was pledged (*ἐνεχυραθείς*) to Antonius Pallas, the latter presumably the Claudian freedman or a descendant/relative (see also the homonym in *W. Chr.* 370, Hermopolis AD 121) and strongly suggesting a connection with the imperial house, one manifestation of which was the possession of Egyptian estates (Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 23–4 and *passim*). Since we cannot know how long before 91 the death of Sarapion occurred, the interval of almost 30 years between the documents is not an insurmountable obstacle to identification. If there were an association between Sarapion and the house of the freedman Pallas, that might partly explain the desire of Vestinus, a known associate of the previous emperor Claudius, to take severe action against an errant individual after the removal of Pallas from office and the fall of Agrippina.

In fr. 2 the objects of the prefect's attention seem to be Sarapion's associates, who are threatened with appropriate punishment if they do not obey whatever injunction has been spelled out in the first part of the text. Edicts of prefects usually deal with more general issues, but there are other examples dealing with specific individuals (e.g. P. IFAO III 34, P. Berl. Leihg. II 46). Of lexical interest are notable occurrences of two words which have not hitherto appeared in papyri: *ἀθύμβατον* ('contrary'?) *στασειώθεις* = *στασιώδεις*? ('rebellious', 'dissident') fr. 2 lines 4 and

8. XXII **2339** (first century) offers evidence for unrest involving weavers (l. 25), though the editor thought the context Alexandrian (perhaps not conclusive). For bibliography on prefectorial edicts and recently published additions to the genre, see Jördens, *Statthaltliche Verwaltung* (2009) 21 n. 24.

Fr. 1

Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος
 Οὐρηστεινός λέγει ·
 Cαραπίωνα Διογένους
 ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως
 5 τοῦ Ὀξυρυχείτου λε-
 γόμενον προστάτ...
 τοῦ τῶν γερδίων πλῆ-
 θους καὶ λογείας πεποι-
 ῆσθαι κηρυχθέντα
 10 [. . . .] .εμ[.]υ[
] . [.] . [

Fr. 2

. [. [. υν . . α . ει τοὺς κοι-
 νωνοὺς ἀσύμβατον
 5 ὑφ' ἡμῶν α
 . . [. .] . φρις καὶ Ὀνωφρεί[ε]
 τα . ου ὀνομασθέν-
 τας στασειώθεις
 καὶ συνεργοὺς τοῦ
 10 Cαραπίω[v]ος τι
 . . λεγω[.] [. .] . [.
 ἐὼ{ι} γενέσθαι ἐ[.] .] ἂν δέ
 τι παρακούσῃ τῇ
 προσηκούσῃ κολά-
 15 ρει κατ' αὐτῶν χρή-
 σωμαι. (ἔτους) η Νέρωνος
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος
 20 Φαμενωθ γ̄

fr. 1

2 l. Οὐηετῖνος 5 l. Ὁξυρυγχίτου 6 l. Ὀνωφρις

fr. 2

8 l. ετασιώδεις? 12 letter after ε crossed out 15-16 l. χρήσομαι

‘Lucius Iulius Vestinus says: Sarapion son of Diognes from the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite (Nome), who is said to be the president of the guild of weavers and to have made exactions, having been summoned . . . with whom he is bringing (?) his associates contrary to (?) . . . —phris and Onnophrei[s] (?) . . . having been named as the dissidents and the accomplices of Sarapion . . . I proclaim a fine and I allow it to stand (?), and if they fail to take notice in any respect I will employ the appropriate punishment against them. Year 8 of Nero Claudius Caesar, Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phamenoth 3.’

Fr. 1

1 L. Iulius Vestinus was prefect in 60–62; see Bastianini, ‘Lista dei prefetti’, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 273, and ‘Aggiunte e correzioni’, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 77. The Roman *praenomen* is normally transliterated as Λούκιος, less commonly Λεύκιος, as here (and also in II 250 2). It is unclear what influences the use of the variant: note that in SB XII 10788 (also from Oxyrhynchus, AD 61–4) the prefect’s *praenomen* is in the form with ε, whereas that of L. Pompeius Niger is in the commoner form in the same text. Vestinus is Λούκιος in W. *Chr.* 374. 20–21.

3 For a possible identification, see introd. The accusative case indicates that Sarapion is the object of a verb (e.g. a threat or condemnation) in the fragmentary part of the text.

6 Although the last three letters have more or less disappeared, the reading of the first seven letters is compatible with the traces: *προστάτης* is the commonest term for the president of a guild (BGU IV 1137 = W. *Chr.* 112, SB XXII 15460, P. Mich. V 243, 332b); *προεστώς* is much less common. Perhaps preferable, and compatible with the traces, is *προεστῆναι*, with the same meaning, as fitting a structure with two infinitives linked by *καί*, following *λεγόμενον*. *προεστῆναι* is probably not worth considering since (a) it is mainly used in a more general context ‘to be in charge’, ‘supervise’ and (b) there seem to be more ink traces than this would justify. If either of these is correct, Sarapion will be the current president, but we should perhaps not exclude the possibility of an aorist *προστατήσαι* (‘said to have been president . . .’).

7–8 Cf. P. Mich. II 124.15, *πλήθος ἐριπωλών*, for the rank-and-file membership of a guild. For the weavers’ guild, see San Nicolò, *Vereinswesen*, 101.

8–9 *λογείας πεποιήσθαι*: the prefect is presumably referring to irregular or illegal financial exactions, cf. P. Lips. II 145 verso.73–4, a letter of the prefect Tineius Demetrius, of AD 188, forbidding such practices by the *komogrammateis* in villages of the Heptanomia and the Arsinoite. The phrase also occurs in P. Amh. II 79.62–3, also a prefectural edict, where an official takes a rake-off from stolen grain.

9 Despite the holes and damage after *κηρυχ*, the reading is not in doubt, in a judicial context meaning ‘summons’. The closest parallel is P. Achmim 8.27–8 *ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ παρ’ ἐμοὶ κηρυχθεὶς ὁ Καθύτης οὐκ ὑπήκουσεν*; see also P. Hamb. I 29.6, P. Berl. Zill. I.44, P. Fouad I 24.15, and especially P. Mich. IX 534.12–13 *ἐκηρύχθη ὁ ἀντιδικὸς μου πρὸ βήματος τρεῖς καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν*. For the role of the *κήρυξ*, see P. Hamb. I 29 . . . *κληθέντων τινῶν ἐκ τῶν προτ[ε]θέντων πρὸς δικαιοδοσίαν ὀνομάτ[ων] καὶ μὴ ὑπακούσαντων Μέττιος Ροῦφ[ος] ἐκέλευσε τὸν κ[η]ρυκα κηρύξαι· οἱ προτεθέντες κτλ.*: the procedure is that the *κήρυξ* makes a public announcement if the defendant fails to appear. Perhaps Sarapion had likewise failed to respond to the summons and is now being threatened with some further punishment or condemned in absence (cf. P. Achmim 8.27 ff.). In that case one might expect something like *καὶ μὴ ὑπακούσαντα* to follow, but it is impossible to fit that to the surviving traces in line 9.

10 The clearly visible trace may be the top of o or c. There may, but need not, be a letter lost before it. In any case, the traces in the line are insufficient to hazard a restoration. There are certainly traces of one line below this and possibly of two lines. The gap between the two fragments is uncertain, however, and if there are traces of a second line they may belong with the remains of the line at the top of fr. 2.

Fr. 2

3 This is very difficult. The letter after *v* is easily read as ω , but would be unusually narrow if followed by a vertical (1?). One could imagine (but hardly read) $\zeta\acute{\nu}\nu \phi\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota$ 'along with whom he [sc. perhaps Sarapion] brings his associates'. The letter between *a* and ϵ (both good) has all but disappeared.

4 $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$: the reading looks good, though the final letter can only be said to be compatible with the traces. The word is rare and has not hitherto appeared in the papyri; it would presumably have to be understood as adverbial though LSJ cite only the plural $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\tau\alpha$ in this sense (I owe this suggestion to Prof. A. Chaniotis). $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\upsilon\mu\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\zeta$, agreeing with the noun preceding it, does not fit the traces so well, and the position is awkward; but for its use with $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, a sense which would suit the context here, see Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidari solet* 166 [45].

5-7 The readings of the dotted letters in line 5 are very uncertain, and it is hard to imagine what could have been written in the short space at the right, with a sense of 'contrary to our instructions' *vel sim*. It looks difficult to read the end of line 6 otherwise than $\omicron\nu\nu\omega\phi\rho\epsilon\iota$ (but the last two letters are not easy), and that must be preceded by a personal name. It is possible to imagine two personal names, each with a patronym, $N | . . [.] . \phi\rho\iota\zeta \omicron\nu\nu\omega\phi\rho\epsilon\iota[\zeta] | . . \omicron\nu$. However, it is difficult to reconcile the traces at the beginning of line 7 with this idea; we seem to have $\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, possibly $\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$, neither onomastically friendly. A possible solution might be $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (= $\tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$), that is 'N son of —phris and Onnophris, son of the same'; the ligature of $\omicron\nu$ is paralleled in this hand in $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\nu\omega\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (l. 4) but here we would have to suppose that we have lost the lower part of the vertical of γ ; and we would normally expect the onomastic pattern to be 'N and N, sons of N'. This leaves the difficulty that we must assume that these two individuals were named in the nominative, with some verb preceding, and then picked up in the accusative in a new clause or sentence with $\delta\omicron\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ in 7-8.

8 $\zeta\tau\alpha\zeta\iota\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$: a first occurrence in the papyri; presumably intended as adjectival acc. pl. of $\zeta\tau\alpha\zeta\iota\omega\delta\eta\varsigma$. For the intervocalic interchange of δ and θ , see Gignac, *Grammar* i 92. $\zeta\nu\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ can be adjectival or nominal.

10-11 This must be the crucial passage in which the prefect announces his decision or sanction, or what needs to be done, but I am not able to suggest a satisfactory reconstruction. If the beginning of line 12 is understood correctly (see note), he is saying that he permits something to stand or be valid, e.g. the imposition of a fine. After the name in line 11 $\tau\iota$ can be read, and it is possible but not easy to read $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$, which, however, would really want the definite article too. In line 11 $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega$ is a good reading, and κ before it looks plausible; $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ would offer good sense ('levy'; see LSJ s.v. II), if it could be read, though the word is not common in papyri. The traces preceding that are indeterminate.

12 $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\{\iota\} \gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\iota$: can be understood as first pers. sing. present indicative of $\acute{\epsilon}\hat{\alpha}\nu$; for the addition of iota adscript, not unusual in the indicative mood; see Mandilaras, *The Verb* 79. So, for example, $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega . . . (\kappa\alpha\iota) \acute{\epsilon}\omega\{\iota\} \gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\iota$, 'I impose a fine . . . and allow it to stand', but not an elegant reconstruction.

12-13 It would also be possible to divide δ' $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ ('if they still fail to take notice'), but $\delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota$ is perhaps preferable; expressions such as $\acute{\epsilon}\hat{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota$ plus some form of a verb such as $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ are common.

16-20 The latest date at which Vestinus is attested as prefect is 7 July 62 (*FIRA* III 2).

A. K. BOWMAN

5098. *ADVOCATE'S SPEECH* (?)

106/12(a)

15.4 × 13 cm

First century
Plate II

Remains of 13 or 14 lines from the top of a column written across the fibres. On the other side, the same way up, is **5096**, 'Roman Collection of Ptolemaic Rulings'; the papyrus was presumably reused for this text. The fragment is complete at the top, with a top margin of c.2 cm. Line beginnings survive except for the last couple of lines, preceded by an intercolumnar space of 2.5 cm. There was at least one previous column of writing (see 1 n.). An indeterminate amount of text has been lost from the ends of lines: where the papyrus surface survives to the right of the legible text, it has been stripped of its top layer of fibres. Thus the width of the column and the amount of papyrus lost to the right is unknown.

The text is written in an unassuming hand that could be characterised as informal and semi-literary, marked by irregularities and some careless cursive. The detached cross-bar of ε and formation of γ (curve resting on a stem; different in 2) point to a date before the end of the first century. The hand has some affinities with that of **5096**, but is not identical; κ and μ, for instance, are different. Some phrases have the flavour of a speech (3 ἀλλὰ καί; cf. 4 δὲ καί), but this is not a known text, and the handwriting does not encourage classification as a literary or subliterate text. Other diction would be at home in a legal text (e.g. ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, 10 πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις). Possibly this is a draft of an advocate's speech dealing with matters of inheritance (υἱός in 6; ἐξ ἀνθρώπων in 9). The earlier text on the other side, which cites royal rules about state confiscation of property, also suggests a legal milieu.

τ]οῦ κόσμου φυλάξας . . [
 β]οηθείας υ . [. .] . . ον[
 δὲ καὶ τοῦ μηδενα[
 ἀλλὰ καὶ α α . . α[
 5 α [. .] π η . ε . ρ [. . .] ε [. . .] υἱό [. . .]
 ελ . ι . . δ . . τ . . . εχ[
 οτε αὐτὸν ε [. . .]
 ἐξ ἀνθρώπ[ω]ν αυ . . [. . .]
 10 καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμ[οις] [. . .]
 ἄλλοι τινὲς μεταθον[. . .]
 ε . . νε . . ε τούτοις . [. . .]
] . . π ωπε . [. . .]
] . . [. . .]

1 τ]οῦ κόσμου φυλάξαζ. .[: Perhaps φυλάξαζα 'having guarded the X of the jewellerly'? The syntax, beginning as it does *in medias res*, seems to presuppose a preceding column of writing. The jewellery could be part of a dowry: cf. C. Pap. Gr. I 30.85 τῶ παιδίῳ κοσμήρια διαφυλάξει; C. Pap. Gr. I 31.318.

2 Perhaps ὑμ[έτ]ερων.

8 οτε: i.e. ὅτε or e.g. ἐνί]οτε.

9 ἐξ ἀνθρώπ[ω]ν αὐ. .[: Perhaps ἐξ ἀνθρώπ[ω]ν αὐτο[ῦ] γενομένου. The phrase 'to be no more of mankind' is a common periphrasis for 'to die': cf. XLIII 4354 12–13 and XXVII 2474 25–6, both to do with inheritance.

10 πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμ[οις]: the DDDP gives no parallel for this phrase—'to obey the laws'—but it is common enough in Demosthenes (*Contr. Boeot.* 13, *In Olymp.* 27, *Contr. Polycl.* 65) as well as in Plato and Xenophon.

11 Possibly μετα<τι>θον[τες, thematic form instead of the expected athematic μετα<τι>θέντες, attested in papyri; cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 380–81.

12 ε. .νε. .ε: The traces are difficult to interpret: one possibility consistent with the remains is ἐμῶν ἐν δὲ κτλ.

D. W. RATHBONE

5099. LETTER OF HERAS TO THEON AND SARAPOUS

21 3B.29/D(5–6)(a)

8.7 × 9.1 cm

Late first/early second century
Plate XIV⁷

A nearly square fragment containing eleven lines from the beginning of a letter written along the fibres, with an address on the back also written along the fibres and sideways to the text on the front. There are three vertical fold lines, and, on the basis of the darkening of the middle two sections of the back, it appears that the sheet was folded lengthwise to a width of approximately 2.3 cm and its original full height of approximately 13 cm (see notes), with the outside edges tucked in and the address written parallel to the longer dimension of the folded papyrus. The top margin is preserved to its apparent full height of 1.7 cm, the left margin to 2.2 cm, and the right margin to a maximum of 1.4 cm; there are approximately 20 letters per line.

The text is in a quickly written, well-executed cursive hand with a rightward slope of a type common starting in the late first century, comparable to e.g. P. Lond. 140, sale of land AD 78–9 (= Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* no. 28), or the cursive handwriting in the London papyrus of the *Athenaion Politeia*, P. Lond. Lit. 108, late I AD with document on front dating from 78–9 (Turner–Parsons *GMAW*² no. 60). The middle stroke of ε joins the top, so that it is easily confused with c. η appears both in bookhand form and occasionally (l. 2, 5) in cursive form. θ is sometimes written cursorily. γ is in V-form. c is written either in half-lunate form, curving only at the top and truncated at the bottom, or with the bottom curved up, sometimes looped back on itself (l. 7, 9). The crossbar of

τ is made in a single movement. φ appears written in a single movement, with an open 'bowl' on the left side of the vertical. ει are ligatured wherever they appear. Iota adscript is written in every case in which it is called for (l. 1, 2, 5). ἀδελφῆι has been added in superscript to the salutation; no other corrections appear in the text.

Heras writes to his 'brother and sister', a couple named Theon and Sarapous, to let them know that a mutual acquaintance or relative named Thonas went on the first of the month of Hathyr (October 28 or 29) to 'the city' and found his sister ill. Heras did not, at the time, wish to inconvenience Thonas by sailing downriver to meet him (presumably in the aforementioned city). The letter breaks off here, but it appears that Heras has received more news of the situation, perhaps prompting the sending of this letter.

Ἡρᾶς Θεώνι τῶι ἀ[δ]ελφῶι
καὶ Σαραποῦτι τῆι ἀδελφῆί' χαίρειν.

(vac.)

γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι Θωνᾶς
παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν πόλιν
5 τῆι α τοῦ Ἀθύρ μηνός, καὶ
ἐλθὼν εὔρε τὴν ἀδελφὴν
αὐτοῦ ἀσθενοῦσαν, καὶ μέ-
χρι τούτου ἀσθενεῖ. οὐκ ἤθε-
λον δὲ αὐτὸν κυλῆραι
10 καὶ καταπλεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ διεμα-
...]. . . []. [] . . . εἰ ἂν ο

Back

. [ἀ] πρὸ Ἡρᾶτος Χ Θεώνι [ι

3 l. γινώσκειν

'Heras to Theon his brother and Sarapous his sister, greetings. I want you to know that Thonas arrived at the city on the first of the month of Hathyr and when he came he found his sister growing ill, and until this time she is weakening. I did not wish to trouble him and sail down, but . . . if (?) . . .'

Back: '. . . [from?] Heras [to] Theon . . .'

1 Ἡρᾶς: Restored on the basis of the address on the back; this is also consistent with the small amount of space left before the beginning of the line. The name Heras is well attested at Oxyrhynchus.

1-2 Θεώνι τῶι ἀ[δ]ελφῶι καὶ Σαραποῦτι τῆι ἀδελφῆί': Both Theon and Sarapous are fairly common names in Oxyrhynchus. VIII 1154 (assigned to late first century) is a letter from a man named Theon to his 'sister' and perhaps wife Sarapous, and it is tempting (though difficult to substantiate) to postulate that this is the same couple. In any case, Theon and Sarapous here may be both

siblings and spouses. But the terms 'brother' and 'sister' here could also be figurative, and it is possible that none of the three are in fact related. Kinship terms were often used in a figurative sense in letters, especially when expressing the addressee's relation to the sender; for an extensive analysis of the use of such terms in papyrus letters, see E. Dickey, 'Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri', *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004) 131ff. It was also common to refer to a spouse using sibling terminology (*ibid.* 154).

3 *ce*: Heras uses the singular form of address, despite addressing the letter to both Theon and Sarapous.

Θωνάτ: The name Thonas is rare, but for a roughly contemporary instance, see SB 9569 (19 Jan. 91), a contract for the sale of wine. It also appears in LXI 4113 (dated 138)—although the *a* is uncertain and the editor notes that *Θώνιτ* (a spelling impossible to read there) is 'much the commoner name'—and in P. Rein. II 93 (after 159/60).

4 *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*: This means Alexandria, downriver from Oxyrhynchus (as indicated by *καταπλεῦσαι*, l. 10).

6 *τὴν ἀδελφὴν*: As above (see note on l. 2), this woman could be Thonas' wife as well as sister, or possibly neither—although kinship terms relating two third parties 'seem almost always to be used literally' (Dickey, 'Kinship Terms' 148).

Back:

1 X. For ink figures connected with the addresses of letters, see XLVIII 3396 (letter, assigned to the fourth century) with discussion there, although the simple diagonal cross pattern here bears more resemblance to e.g. XLIII 3094 (dated 217–18) than to the former's elaborate rectangular symbols. It seems to have indicated where the fastening of the letter was to be placed; the abrasion of part of the mark was probably caused by the placement of a tie or seal over it (in which case we know that the letter was completed and prepared for sending, though not whether it was actually sent or received). J. R. Rca in the edition of XLVIII 3396 notes that the cross or saltire pattern 'seems to be appropriate to the shape of a seal, rather than a tie, but that is not certain' (note on l. 32) and speculates that such letters were marked after being tied with a strip of papyrus to indicate the place to attach a seal. Assuming that this was the only fastening and that the folded letter was tied or sealed roughly in the middle, the intact sheet would have been approximately 13 cm long.

A. KOENIG

5100. LETTER OF HYMENAEUS TO DIONYSIUS

47 5B.45/F(1–3)a

5.8 × 17.8 cm

18 May, c.136

A letter preserved complete, with 19 lines of text on a long, narrow strip of papyrus. The back is blank, with no address. There is a horizontal fold line after l. 10 (8 cm from the top) and three vertical fold lines, and a kollesis appears near the right edge (roughly 1.1 cm from bottom right corner).

The hand, while displaying a literary character (e.g. P. Lond. I 110, Horoscope of the year AD 138), has a marked affinity with contemporary official hands of the chancery type, e.g. P. Brem. (AD 117–19). Its characteristic is the use of upright letter shapes with a strongly vertical trend, e.g. 1 (2), ρ (14). An *ει* ligature appears at line 14, and the writer uses several abbreviations; two supralinear corrections appear in

lines 3 and 5. Iota adscript is written in the prescript (1 and 2) but not in the body of the letter (7, 10, 17); see W. Clarysse, 'Notes in the Use of the Iota Adscript in the Third Century B.C.', *CdE* 51 (1976) 150–58.

Hymenaeus (a name previously unknown in the papyri) writes to ask Dionysius to pass on a letter to Kerdon, who is about to depart. The letter is intended for Theon, strategus of the Prosopite nome, who may be the one mentioned in a document dated to 136 (see notes).

Ὑμεναῖος Διονυσίω
 τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ χ(αίρειν).
 τὸ ἐπιστόλιον αὐτῷ ὃ διε-
 πεμφάμην σοι
 5 ἔσπερα^ς διὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος
 σου ὥστε Θέωνι
 τῷ στρ(ατηγῷ) τοῦ Προ-
 σωπίτου δοῦναι,
 καλῶς ποιήσεις
 10 δοῦς Κέρδωνι τῷ
 παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ
 ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι
 καὶ μέλλει αὐτὸς
 πεζεύειν. ἔρρω-
 15 σθαί σε εὐχομαι
 τιμιώτατε.
 καὶ εὐθέως αὐτῷ
 δὸς τὸ ἐπιστόλιον.
 vac.
 m.2 ἔρρω(σο). Παχῶν κγ.

2 χς

7 στρς

19 ερρ^ω

'Hymenaeus to the most honourable Dionysius, greeting. The letter, the one that I sent you in the evening with your Ethiopian, to give to Theon the strategus of the Prosopite, you will do well to give to Kerdon, the one who is with us, since it is urgent and he himself is about to travel. I pray that you are in good health, most honourable one; and give him the letter straight away.'

2nd hand: 'Farewell. 23 Pachon.'

1 Dionysius is a common name in Oxyrhynchus. Hymenaeus does not seem to be attested in any published papyri, but O. Petr. 240 (from Berenice, dated AD 34) mentions a Marcus Laelius Hymenaeus (confirmed by G. Messeri), and the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* notes over twenty attestations in the old Greek world.

5 ἔσπερα^ς. The late time and quick succession of the messages, as well as the absence of an

address on the back of this letter, indicate that the sender and addressee are in fairly close proximity and that the message was hand-delivered.

διὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος. For Ethiopian slaves in Egypt, see e.g. O. Florida 17 (assigned to the 2nd century) with notes and bibliography.

6–8 ᾤστε . . . δοῦναι. For the construction of ᾤστε with the infinitive, see Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (1973) 321, no. 774.

Θέωνι τῷ στρατηγῷ τοῦ Προσωπίτου. A Theon appears as strategus of the Prosopite nome in a record of court proceedings dated to 136 (P. Oslo II 17). If this is the same man, this letter must date to within a few years of 136. For a list of strategi of the Prosopite nome, see J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (2006) 116–17.

10 Κέρδωνι. He is travelling to the Prosopite nome from Dionysius' location, presumably Oxyrhynchus, so that he will be able to pass on Hymenaeus' letter to Theon.

14 πεζεύειν: This word is used of traveling on foot or, more generally, by land rather than by water (see e.g. P. Brem. 15, dated c.118).

A. KOENIG
M. SALEMENOU

INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement and previously unattested names and places. The article and (in the documentary sections) *καί* have not been indexed.

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II. RULERS AND CONSULS

NERO

Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αυτοκράτορος **5097** 16-19 (year 8)

III. MONTHS

Ἀθυρ **5099** 5 *Φαμενωθ* **5097** 20 *Παχων* **5100** 19

IV. DATES

27 February 62 **5097** 20 18 May c.136 **5100** 19

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<i>Διονύσιος</i> 5100 1	<i>Κέρδων</i> 5100 10	<i>Καραπίων</i> , s. of Diogenes 5097 1 3, 2 10
<i>Ἡρᾶς</i> 5099 1	<i>Κλαύδιος</i> see Index II s.v. Nero	<i>Καραπούς</i> 5099 2
<i>Θέων</i> 5099 1	<i>Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος Οὐρηστεινός</i> , pre- fect of Egypt 5097 1 1-2	<i>Τιβέριος</i> see Index II s.v. Nero
<i>Θέων</i> , strategus of the Prosopite nome 5100 1	<i>Νέρων</i> see Index II s.v. Nero	<i>Υμμεναῖος</i> 5100 1
<i>Θωνᾶς</i> 5099 3		

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ὥστε 5100 6

5072 →

5072 ↓

Η ΑΝΤΙ... (49)
 ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΡΡΗΘΙΝΟ...
 ΑΝ ΕΧΡΟ...
 ΕΠΙΡΟΚ...
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Fragmentary text on a large, dark, heavily damaged papyrus scroll. The text is mostly illegible due to the state of preservation.



5076

fr. 1

ΧΥΣΤΟΝ
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 ΣΕ
 ΤΙΟΝΤ
 ΑΜΑΝ
 ΜΑ
 ΕΟΝΤ
 ΤΟΒΘΜΕΤΟ
 ΟΥΝΙΑΝΤΟΝΤΑΥΗΘ
 ΟΥΤΟΕΤΥΔΝΑΧΟΛΙΩ

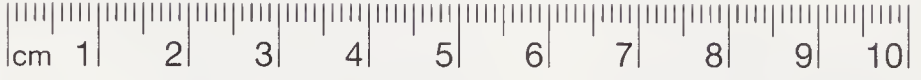
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 Κ
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fr. 4

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 ΚΙΝΑΕ
 ΗΕΗΕΟ
 ΑΤΤΙΟΙ



fr. 5

ΚΡΑΤΟ
 ΟΥΚΑΥ
 ΟΥΚΑΕΙΕ
 ΔΑΕΝ ΑΙΟΥΣ
 ΑΤΟΝΑΗΑΠ
 ΡΙΟΝΤΑΡΕΙΟΥ
 ΟΥΟΥΤΟΟΤΙΝΙΟ
 ΟΒΥΕΡΟΟ ΔΕΟΜΑΙ
 ΟΝΟΝΟΙΑΛΑΧΟΜΑΙ

5075

ΘΕΑΠΟΟΤΕ ΤΕΚΑ... ΣΚΙ
 ΛΕΟΝΤΕΑΙΝΑΙ ΚΕΙΝΟ... ΩΤΕ
 ΑΠΟΓΡΑΨΗΤΑ ΚΑΙΤΟΑΝ... Ο ΔΥ
 ΤΙΤΡΑΦΟΝ ΚΕΚΟΥΕΣ... ΤΕΟ
 ΙΝΑΚΑΤΟΙΛΟΙΤΟΙ ΕΧΩ... Ο
 ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ΕΤΙΣ ΕΓΙΝΩ... ΕΣΤΙ
 ΟΤΙΤΟΥ ΕΜΑΦΗΒΟΝΩ... ΜΠΑ
 ΑΡΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΙ ΔΙΑΝΗΘΩΝ... ΑΙΑ
 ΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ ΕΠΙΣΑΛΟΥΚΑ... ΕΡ
 ΛΩΤΚΑΙ Η ΔΕ ΦΕΚΑ...
 ΠΩ ΣΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΤΑ...
 ΤΙΤ... ΡΟΝ Τ...
 ΔΙΑ... ΟΝ...
 Χ... Λ...
 ΕΤΟ...

fr. 1

ΔΙΑ... ΟΝ...
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 ΕΤΟ...

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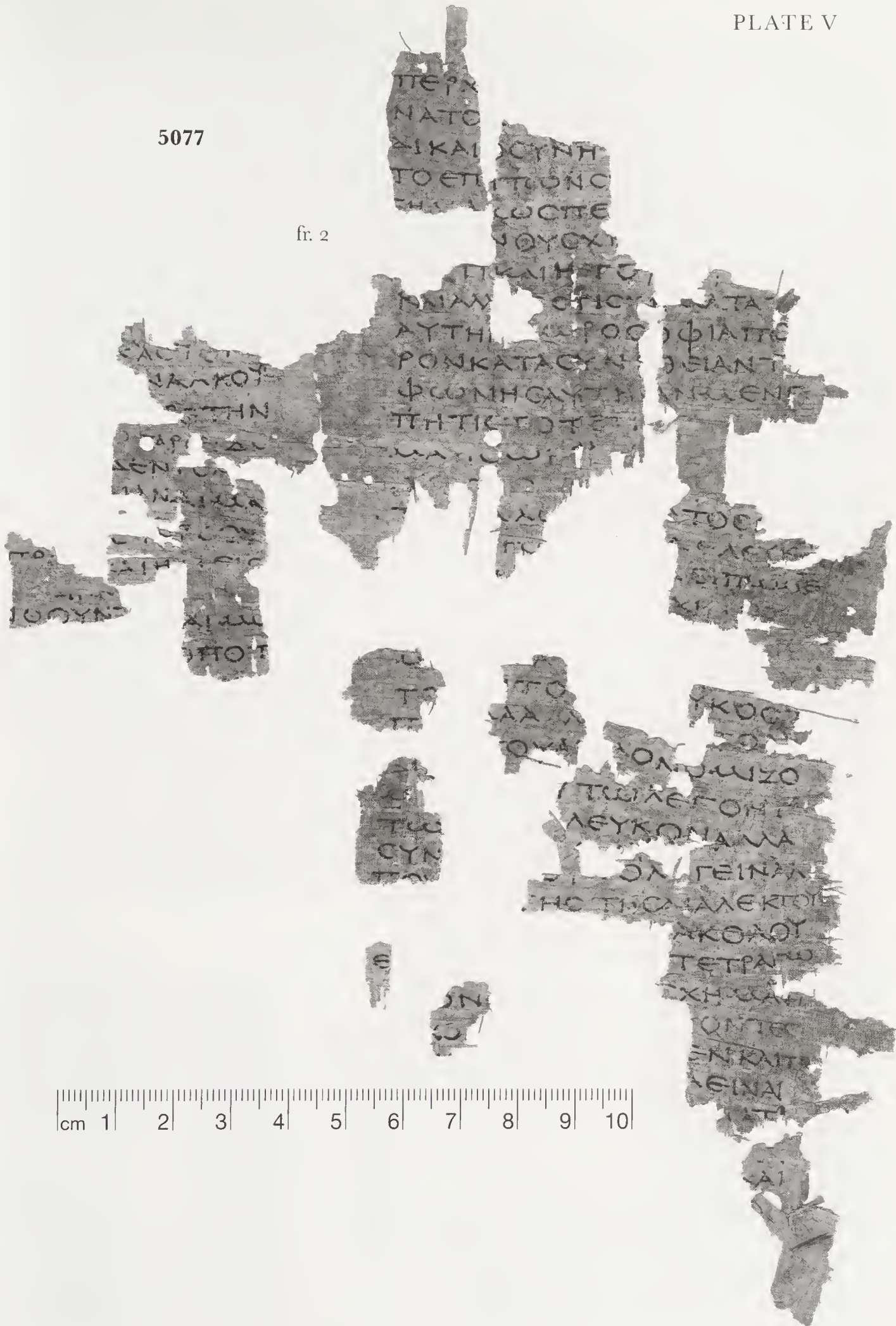
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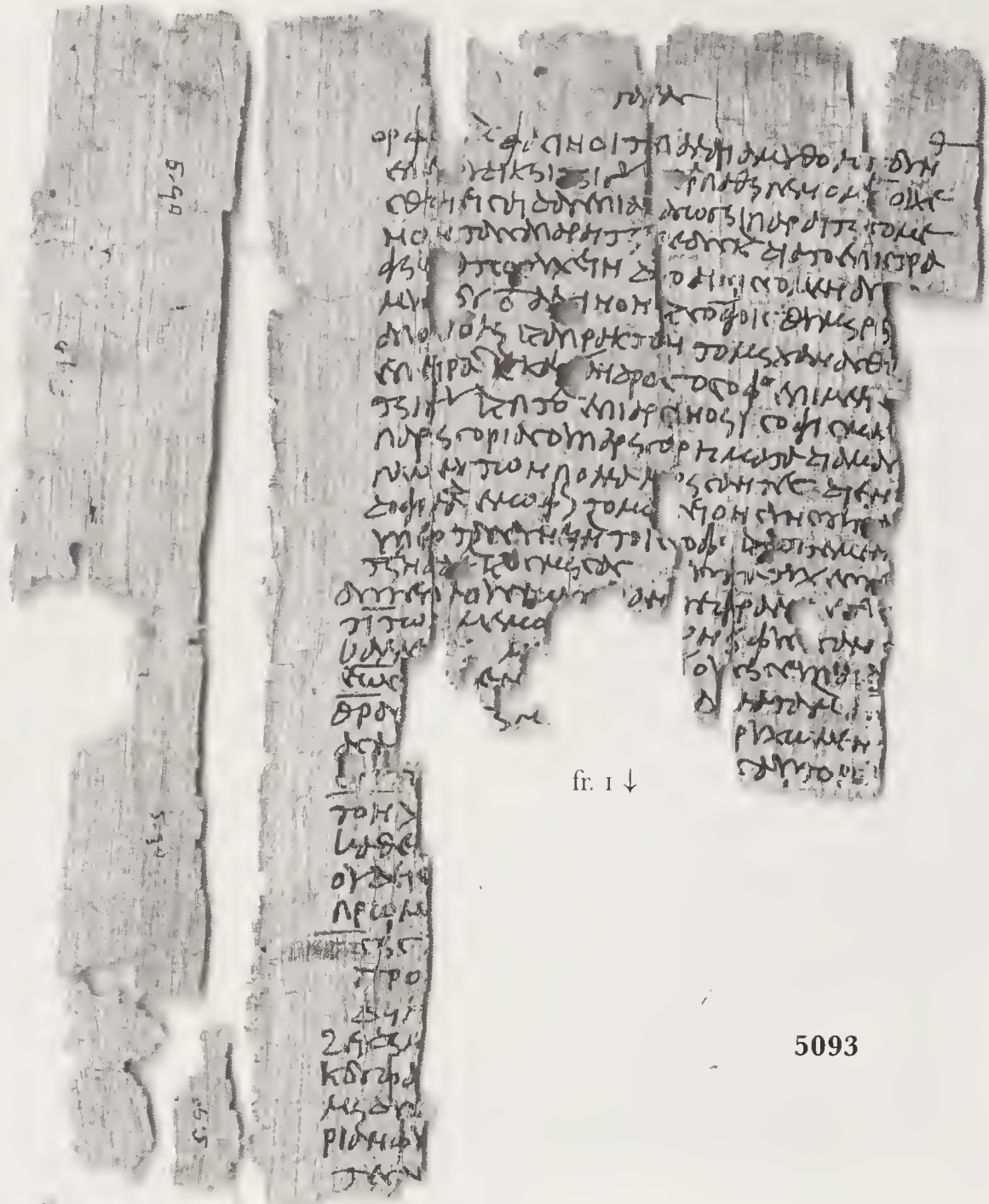
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fr. 2





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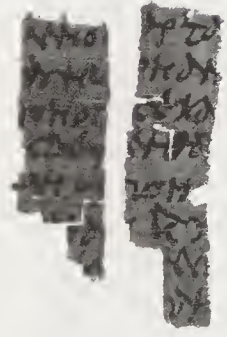
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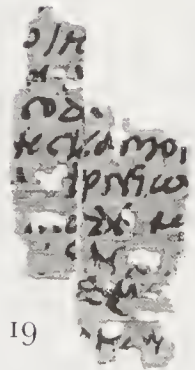
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fr. 18



fr. 19



fr. 20



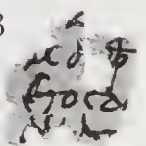
fr. 21



fr. 22



fr. 23

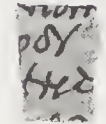


fr. 30

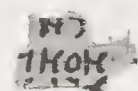
fr. 24



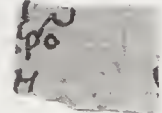
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fr. 26



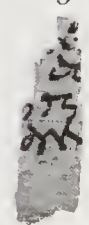
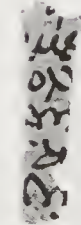
fr. 27

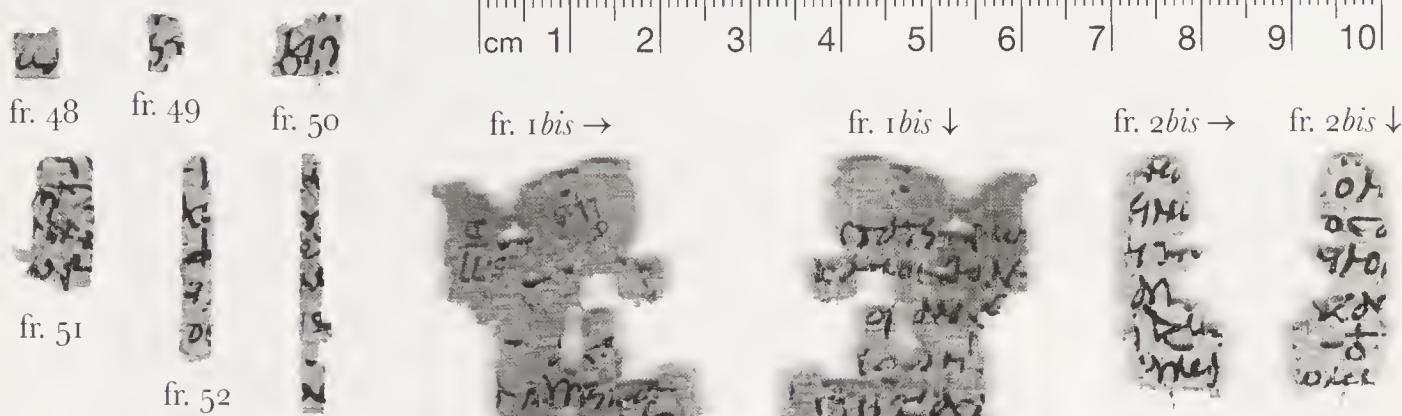
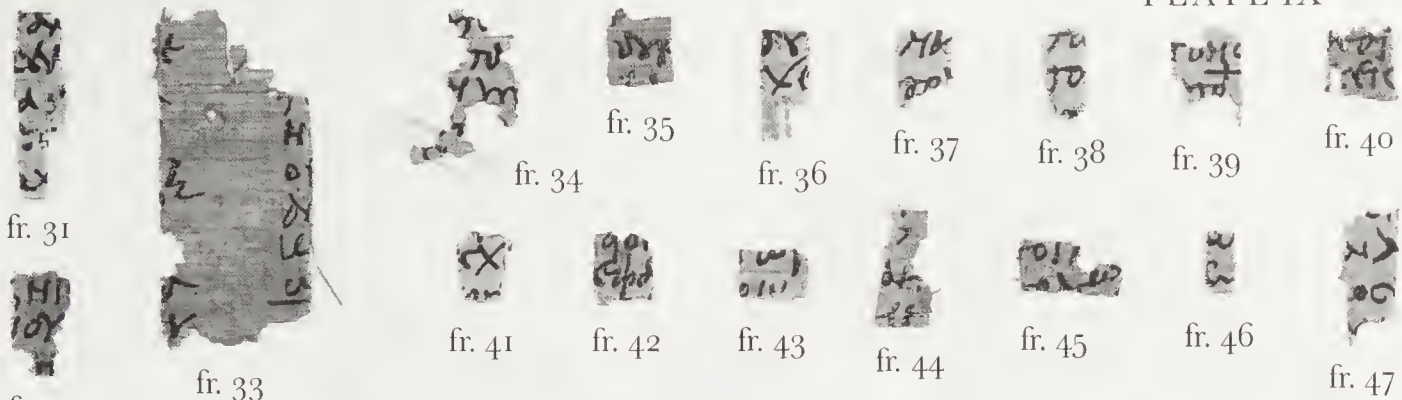


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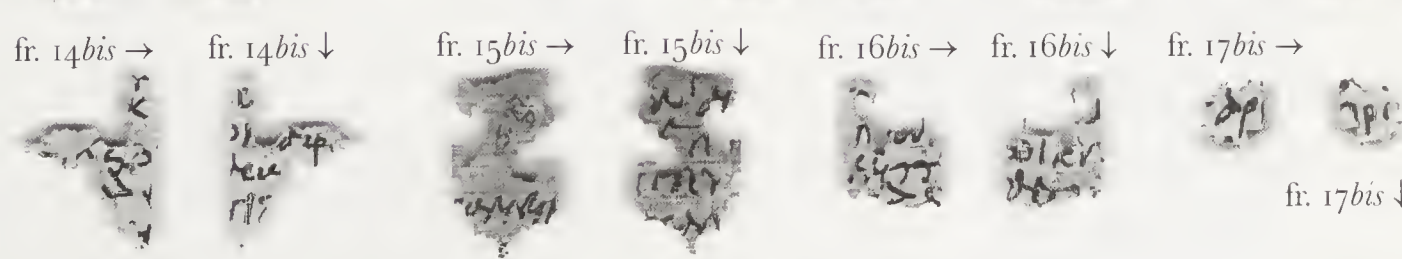
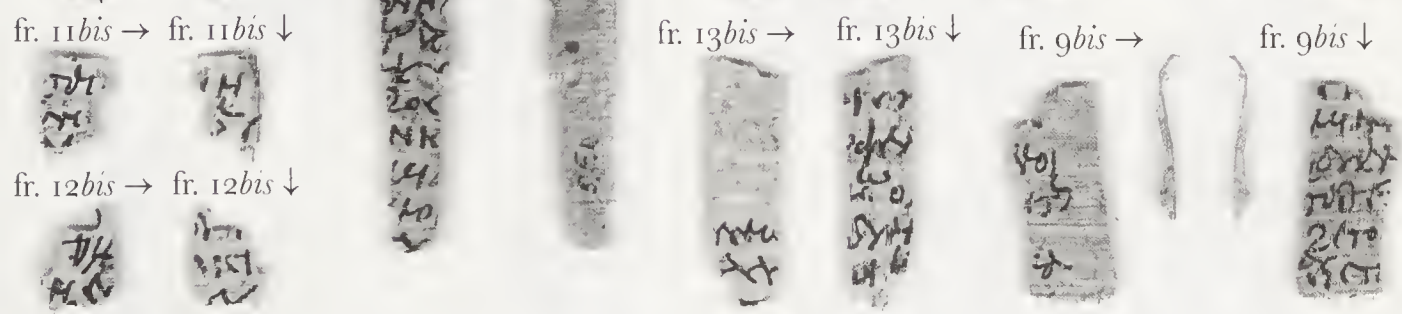
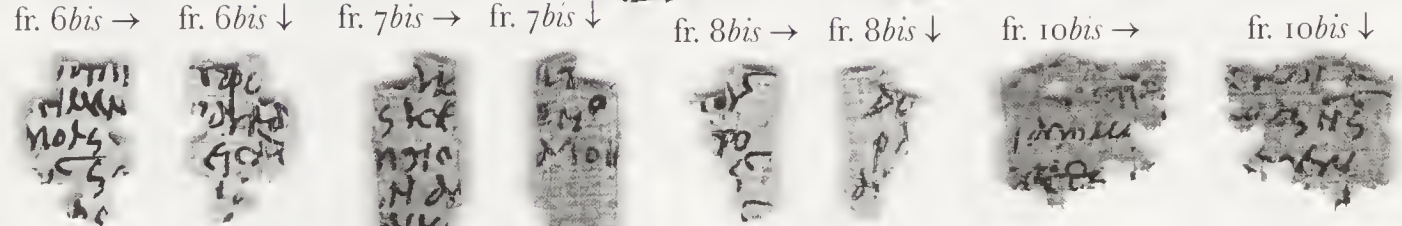
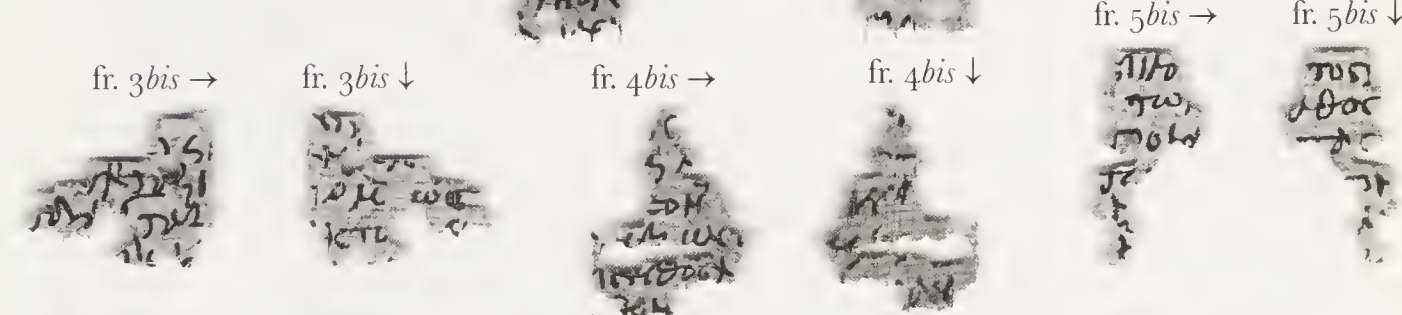


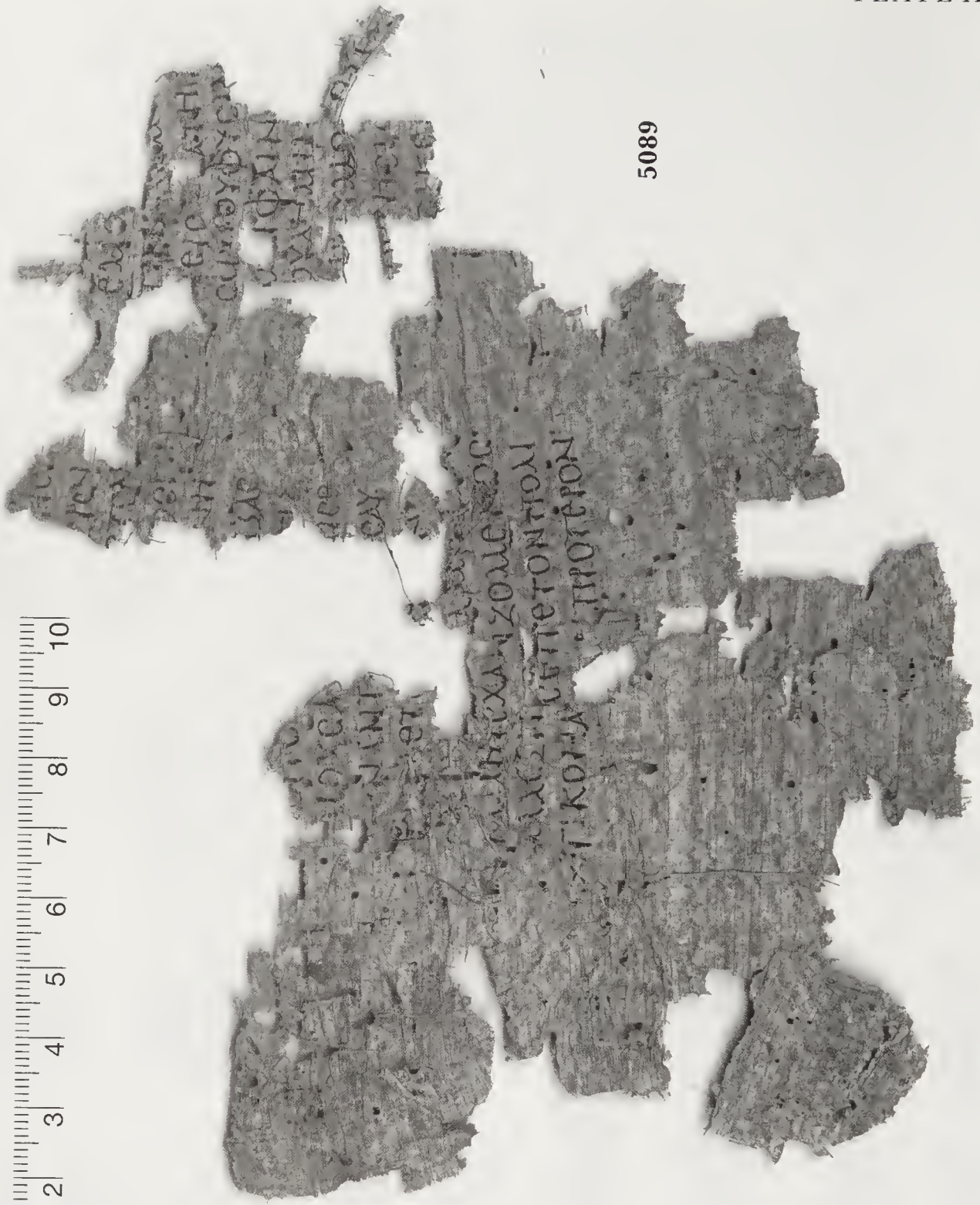
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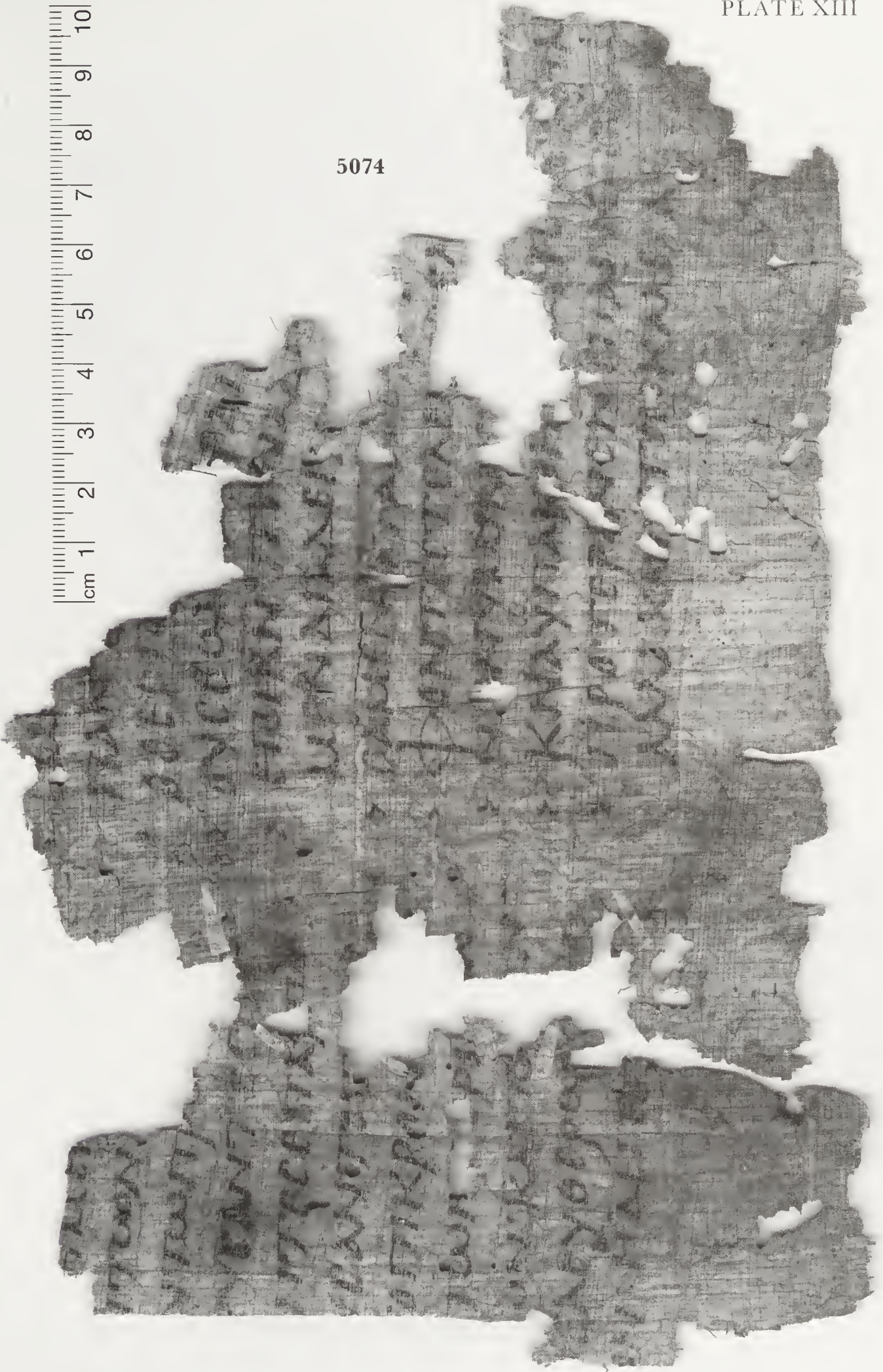
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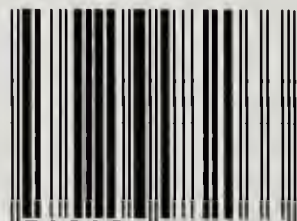


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ISBN 978-0-85698-203-3



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